ESSAYS ON HISTORY EDUCATION & CULTURE

INSTITUTE OF COMPARATIVE STUDIES
BHUBANESWAR

Essays on History, Education & Culture

(COMPARATIVUS, NO. 3 & 4)

(IN MEMORY CF DR. HAREKRUSHNA MAHTAB)

: Editors :

Dr. Bhabagrahi Misra

Dr. Bishnupada Panda

: Foreword :

Prof. Satrughna Nath



MAYUR PUBLICATIONS
BHUBANESWAR-751001

Essays on History, Education & Culture

(COMPARATIVUS, NO. 3 & 4)

(IN MEMORY OF DR. HAREKRUSHNA MAHTAB)

: Editors :

Dr. Bhabagrahi Misra
Dr. Bishnupada Panda

: Foreword :

Prof. Satrughna Nath



MAYUR PUBLICATIONS
BHUBANESWAR-751001

COMPARATIVUS

(AN ANTHOLOGY OF
OCCASIONAL PAPERS)
THREE & FOUR

Essays on History, Education & Culture

DECEMBER, 1987

INSTITUTE OF COMPARATIVE STUDIES
254, Kharavela Nagar
Bhubaneswar-751001

COVER DESIGN :
SRI SUDHI KUMAR ROY

PRINTED AT :
UDYOG PRINTERS
Kharavela Nagar
Unit-III, Bhubaneswar

PRICE :
Rupees One Hundred Only (India)
Twenty Dollars Only (Foreign)

FOREWORD

From Anthology of Occasional papers COMPARATIVUS to a Volume, a book of **Essays on History, Education & Culture** has been the transition not only in the development of publications but also with the Institute of Comparative Studies (1982-83). In the case of the former, i.e. publications, the transition is rather natural, but with us in the Institute, it is occasioned due to various constraints, mainly financial. We have however, retained our original focus—pursuit of excellence through dissemination. The current volume is, in fact, a collection of papers received for COMPARATIVUS, 3 & 4.

A singular feature of this volume is that it is dedicated to the sacred memory of DR. HAREKRUSHNA MAHTAB, the founder-Chairman of the Institute He left us and we lost in him a perennial source of encouragement. It may be an eye-opener for posterity in recollecting DR. MAHTAB's daily round of duties that his association with us in the Institute was not the last ever made as his was a life of making, minding and managing institutes, organisations etc He continued as a life-long devotee to inspire, encourage and appreciate talents and possibilities wherever they may be. It is our proud privilege to have him as our first Chairman and to share with such other institutes, so far known and yet to be known in the country & abroad in carrying forward the ideals he left for us.

Although three broad subject areas are specified in the title of this volume, it contains papers, in addition, on Literature, Cultural Anthropology and even Trade Unioni m representing as many as sixteen view points of eminent thinkers in and outside the country. Nothing could have been more satisfying to the versatile interests of our founder-Chairman DR. MAHTAB than this venture.

Our distinguished authors are many, more are our well-wishers and readers. To all of them, our thanks are due. We are thankful to the Mayur Publications in sharing with us the responsibility for the publication of this book. Our best wishes to Dr. B. Panda, General Secretary of the Institute whose unfailing strength in spite of his ailing health is an example of courage and conviction.

December 15, 1987
Bhubaneswar

S. Nath
Chairman, ICS

About Our Authors

Dr. Atul Chandra Pradhan is a Reader in History in the Utkal University and author of a couple of books and a good number of research papers on historical topics.

Dr. Umacharan Mahanty is a Reader in Anthropology in the Madras University. A well-known research scholar particularly in the field of social anthropology of the tribal people.

Dr. Suhrid Kumar Bhowmik is a College teacher in West Bengal. A Socio-linguist and scholar in Santali Language. Has toured exfensively in the U. K. to give lectures on Socio-Linguistics in the Indian context. Has authored a Bengali-Santali Dictionary.

Prof. Himangshu Bimal Majumdar is a veteran educationist and researcher of national as well as international repute. Has a number of books and research papers to his credit. Has toured U.K , U.S A. and Japan to study educational structures with Colombo Plan, UNESCO and Ford Foundation Scholarships. Member of various national bodies for educational development.

Dr. Binod Sankar Das is a Professor of Humanities, IIT, Khargpur. Well-known among the teachers and students of History for his books and papers.

Ramachandra Mishra is a Research Scholar in the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

Santosh Kumar Rath is a Lecturer in Sociology at Govt. College, Rourkela.

Dr. Jagannath Mohanty, Reader, SCERT, Orissa. Has done commendable work in the field of Educational Technology, Has some books and papers to his credit.

Mrs. Sanghamitra Acharya is a Lecturer in English in Municipal College, Rourkela.

Dr. Usha Mehta is an Associate Professor. Deptt of Food & Nutrition, HAU, Hisar. She is known as a researcher in the field of nutrition.

Dr. James J. Preston is a Professor of Anthropology & Chairman, Religious Studies Programme at State University of New York. He is the author of *Sacred Centers, Cult of the Goddess* published in India.

Dr. Bishnupada Panda is a Retired Lecturer in Bengali in the Regional College of Education. He is known for his work on the Contributions of Oriya Poets to Bengali Literature. Obtained his D. Litt. Degree from the Calcutta University on this subject. He is the author of *"Teaching of Mother Tongue, Orissa, An Unknown Profile* & 4 other books in Bengali.

Jitamitra Prasad Singh Deo is known as a researcher in the Field of archaeology of Orissa. Has also writtena number of books and papers on his area of interest. He is the President of Archaeological Committee, Khariar, Orissa.

Rajkumar Verma is Presently working as the Chief Personnel Manager of the Tata Iron & Steel Co., Ltd., Jamshedpur. Actively associated with the training programmes of the industrial workers.

Dr. Tapati Dutta is a Lecturer in the Regional College of Education. Her area of Specialisation is the relation of nutrition to education. She had her training in the U.K. in the use of Computers in the field of education and has already written a book on it.

Dr. Bhabagrahi Misra is an Educationist and Researcher of national and international repute. He was a Professor in Anthropology in USA, a UGC Visiting Professor in Sambalpur University & Director, Asian Workers Develoopment Institute, Rourkela. He is a prolific writer in Oriya & English & has a number of books to his credit.



Essays on History, Education & Culture

COMPARATIVUS : THREE & FOUR

TABLE OF CONTENTS

A Critique on Investigation into the Nature and Extent of the Uplift of the Untouchables During the British Rule*

—Dr. Atul Chandra Pradhan

The purpose of this paper is to explore the lines along which investigations may fruitfully be carried on to assess the nature and extent of the uplift of the Hindu untouchable castes during the British rule. Any such investigation naturally calls for an understanding of the disabilities which the practice of untouchability involves a large section of the Indian population, who were variously designated in the traditional terminology, such as Panchammas, Avarnas, Antyajas, Achhuts and Atishudras and, in modern official parlance, as Depressed Classes and Scheduled Castes. Though the untouchables have been grouped together under such common expressions as Depressed Classes or Scheduled Castes, they do not constitute a homogeneous or well-knit social group; apart from linguistic and cultural differences, their disabilities and hierarchical status vary from region to region and caste to caste. Therefore, to understand the disabilities and social status of the untouchables, it is necessary to undertake micro-level studies of individual untouchable caste or the untouchable castes of a particular province or a still smaller region having concentration of a particular untouchable caste. Of course such studies may be more of an inter-disciplinary nature rather than purely historical. For example, we may undertake separate studies of the social status of the Mahars of Maharashtra, Thiyyas of Kerala, Bhokkaligas of Mysore, Jatavs of North India and Namasudras of Bengal. Necessity for separate region-based studies

of the disabilities and social status of the untouchable castes also arise from the fact that untouchability did not prevail in the same form or intensity all over the country due to the differences in the socio-economic-cultural patterns of different parts of the country. Untouchability in its extreme form prevailed in south India where some castes were not only untouchable but also unapproachable. On the other hand, in the Punjab, the practice of untouchability was less stringent than other parts of India. While studying the practice of untouchability, we should bear in mind that it was not a purposeful mischief that was being perpetrated by the caste Hindus on the so-called untouchables. The social norms constituting the practice of untouchability form an integral part of the intricate socio-economic relations which the caste system involves. Nausea of untouchability is to be found not only in the attitude of the caste Hindus towards the Scheduled Castes, but also among the untouchable groups themselves. Individual untouchable castes have their peculiar disabilities; they maintain mutual segregation among themselves; and some claim superiority over others.

Anti-untouchability movement and movement for the uplift of the untouchables have not originated among the untouchables themselves, these movements have rather been artificially induced among the untouchable castes who would not have otherwise been conscious of their disabilities. Anti-untouchability movement is related to the process of westernisation of the traditional Indian society. The Christian missionaries are given the credit of being pioneers in the field of anti-untouchability work, but an inquiry into missionary activities among the untouchables must take two factors into c nsideration : first, the missionaries, particularly in south, did not attack the steel frame of the caste system of which untouchability formed an integral part; secondly, caste hierarchy and notions of superiority and inferiority in same form also prevailed among the native converts to Christianity.[1]

The British rule with its principles of equality before law, equality of opportunities for all, and mass education is also given sufficient credit for undermining the feeling of high and low, inherent in the Hindu caste hierarchy. But instead of being carried away by this sweeping generalisation about the impact of British rule upon the Depressed Classes, we should rather approach the problem from the opposite direction, i.e., how equality was practically denied by the British Government's reluctance to touch the steel frame of caste system and its policy of non-interference in social matters.[2] Considering from this point of view, we may study how the untouchables could not get justice in the law courts of the British Government, i.e., we may study their legal disabilities in the practical sense. To illustrate this point a reference may be made here to the view of an English judge, Sir Herbert Edwards, who served in India for eight or nine years. Edwards wrote that during his tenure as judge in India he never saw witnesses of sweeper castes being allowed to cross the threshold of his court to give evidence. They were invariably stopped at the door by the officers of the court and their depositions were taken there.[3] To give another instance, even as late as 1924, Hindu judges in some parts of South India would not allow either parties or witnesses who were under the stigma of untouchability to enter the precincts of their courts. Their statements were taken by means of intermediaries who went to them with questions and brought back answers.[4] From this point of view it is also worthwhile to study the educational disabilities of the untouchable castes in different parts of the country. Such a study may be undertaken on the basis of educational and administrative reports, published by the provincial authorities, Census reports and also the local periodicals.

Some of the policies and measures of the British Government which positively contributed to the uplift of the Depressed Classes deserve special study. The abolition of slavery in 1843, which emancipated many untouchables from the bonds of slavery, who were employed as plantation labourers in

South India, the employment opportunities in the British army, which were available to some castes, notably the Mahars of Maharashtra, and the employment which the Thiyyas of Kerala could get by virtue of their education need to be studied.

The new economic forces such as railways, industrialisation and urbanisation, which were introduced into the Indian society in the second half of the ninateenth century, imperceptibly but effectively undermined the rigours of caste system and untouchability. While constructing the history of the anti-untouchability movement, generally stress is laid on the efforts of social reformers, and relatively lesser consideration is given to these economic forces. But the economic forces have, in fact, contributed more to undermining untouchability than conscious social efforts. To assess the impact of the new economic forces on the untouchable classes, we may undertake the micro-level studies of the impact of particular industries and urban centres upon the untouchable labourers in their vicinity or surrounding areas. The process of the transformation of the untouchable castes from ill-paid village servants into wage-earning labourers would be an interesting study. In one sense, the practice of untouchability had basically economic foundation. Though the untouchables sufferred from social disabilities, their miserable economic condition tended to stabilise their low social status.[5] We may apply the Marxian economic interpretation to the understanding of the low social status of the untouchables in traditional rural society, and their changing socio-economic status under the impact of industrialisation and urbanisation of the Indian society. We may also study the role of trade-unionism in changing the social outlook of the untouchables, as distinguished from their stagnant social outlook and inertia in the traditional village society.[6] Studies of scavengers' unions may also be undertaken.

The impact of westernization upon the traditional Indian society inevitably led to the development of three approaches

to the problem of removal of untouchability, i. e. (1) spread of education, (2) improvement of economic status and (3) removal of socio-religious disabilities such as social segregation, the taboo of pollution by touch and denial of access into the temple. The impulse to foster the educational development of the untouchables came from British Government's policy of mass education and general trends of westernisation and democratisation of Indian society. Efforts for spread of education among the untouchables, which is an important line of investigation, was mainly made through official agency. Conscious efforts for their economic advancement which is inextricably linked with the economic development of society in general were minimal. The third line of effort which may be termed as Sanskritisation, i. e., the Hinduisation of the semi Hindu or practically non-Hindu untouchable castes was taken up by the Hindu socio-religious reformers. Most of the Hindu socio-religious reformers such as Swami Dayanand and Gandhi (despite his progressive, democratic and humanitarian approach), basically tried to Sanskritise or Hinduise the untouchable castes or integrate them fully into the Hindu system. The process of Sanskritisation though induced by the social reformers, subsequently became an important drive among the untouchables, particularly in the twenties. The process of Sanskritisation among the untouchables may be taken up as an important sociological study.

The assessment of the actual contribution of the social reformers to the anti-untouchability movement must be based on the analysis of the social outlook and behaviour of the social reformers and the extent to which they were able to influence the masses, particularly rural masses. Two instances may be given here to illustrate the limitations of the social reformers. In the Bombay presidency, the Prarthana Samajists who condemned untouchability on the public platforms associated themselves with the activities of caste sabhas. At the beginning of the twentieth century, a mouthpiece of the Arya Samaj, *Arya messenger* observed that "The Arya

Samajists have not yet learnt to work among the masses who form the backbone of India"[7]. The new intellectual climate which the social reformers created in favour of the anti-untouchability movement may be studied on the basis of the proceedings of the social reform organisations like the Arya Samaj, National Social Conference, Depressed Classes Mission Society of India, and such journals like the *Indian Social Reformer*, which were dedicated to the cause of social reform.

The spectacular Gandhian movement for the removal of untouchability had severe limitations which should not be lost sight of. In spite of Gandhi's philanthropic and humanitarian stress on the removal of untouchability, the stand of the Congress party on this problem was politically motivated. To the logic of Ranade and Gokhale that Indians must root out injustice and inequity from their society to justify fighting against the injustice of an alien government, Gandhi and Gandhian Congressmen added the view that untouchables must be drawn into the nationalist movement for counter-acting the British policy of Divide and Rule.[8] Most probably, there would have been no Harijan movement in 1932 but for the Communal Award which gave separate electorates to the untouchables. The social outlook of the Congressmen whom B.R.Ambedkar, the Depressed Class leader, rightly or wrongly branded as political radicals and social tories, Gandhi's failure to change the heart of the orthodox on the question of vital issues like temple entry, the orthodox reaction with the ebbing of the popular enthusiasm initially roused by Gandhi's fast, the inefficiency and insincerity of the members of the Harijan Sevak Sangha, and the critical approach of a section of untouchables towards the Gandhian movement call for serious investigation. The major thrust of Gandhi's anti-untouchability movement was removal of untouchability through appeal to public conscience, which was not successful.

The intelectual spokesmen of the Depressed Classes, such as B.R.Ambedkar and M.C.Rajah, were a class whose social status and psychology must be properly probed for understanding the character of the parallel or separatist political movements which they started. It would be an oversimplification to brand them as the agents of the British bureaucracy or as being simply motivated by self interest. The same Western education which induced the caste Hindu nationalists to aspire for a new socio-political identity induced the educated untouchables to search for a new identity for themselves in view of the incongruity between their educational attainments and their social status. A thorough study of the character of the political leadership of the Depressed Class movement may be based on the private papers of Dr. B.R.Ambedkar in the Bombay University Library and Siddhartha College Library and those of N.C. Rajah in the Nehru Memorial Museum Library, New Delhi, and also the public utterances and activities of the Depressed Class leaders as recorded in the contemporary newspapers such as *Times of India*, *Bombay Chronicle*, *Madras Mail*, *Hindu*, *Statesman* and *Amrit Bazar Patrika* and also the regional language newspaper reports which contain relevant extracts from the mouthpieces of the Depressed Classes, spokesmen such as *Bahiskrita Bharat* and *Janata*. To what extent caste factor influenced and conditioned political movement among the Depressed Classes should be studied, because there were a number of caste-based political associations among the Depressed Classes.

The British Government's approach to the uplift of the untouchables which conditioned the course of their uplift forms the crucial part of the study. Due to the variations in the local conditions, the British bureaucracy in different parts of the country followed different policies. For example, the admission of untouchable students into the public schools was not as big a problem in Bengal or Punjab as it was in Madras. Therefore, for a detailed knowledge of the bureaucracy's approach to the problem of their uplift, state-wise study of the problem is necessary. The Madras Government's

special measures for the uplift of the Depressed Classes would be of special interest to the scholars in view of the fact that untouchability in its extreme form prevailed in Madras. At the macro-level, we may take up such studies as the question of Depressed Classes' representation in the legislatures and services and the question of central legislation for removal of the disabilities of the untouchables. For such macro-level study, we may consult, besides newspapers and periodicals, Reforms Office, Home-Public, Home-Judicial and Legislative Files in the National Archives of India and also the Parliamentary Papers and Debates, published official reports and proceedings of the central legislature. British bureaucracy in India left the socio-religious aspect of the problem of untouchability untouched. The problem of educational advancement was dealt with by the provincial governments. The question of Depressed Classes' representation was taken up by the highest British authorities for ulterior political reasons. Consequently the problem of the Depressed Classes, which was at bottom socio-economic, became politicised. An incorrect approach of the political authorities to a social problem may distort the course of social development as well as the historical analysis of the problem. The problem of Depressed Classes has most probably suffered from such distortion, which no dispassionate scholar should lose sight of.

References

1. See "Convictions and Conclusions", a joint manifesto by fourteen "highly educated Christians" in *Harijan,* 3 April, 1937. They admitted that the Christian Church in India suffered from "a legacy of deplorable caste prejudices and jealousies".

2. See the despatch of the Secretary of State for India to the Government of India, 7 August, 1859 in C. H. Philips, ed., *The Evolution of India and Pakistan,* London, 1962, p.728.

H. N. Brailsford, a progressive Englishman made the following observation about the British Social policy :

> "None the less, our official policy was then, as now, to interfere as little as possible with Indian institutions : it tolerated social customs injurious to health, notably child marriage, and accepted even untouchability as an immutable fact in an environment it dared not alter. Our Courts, as time went on, took to administering Hindu law with an almost antiquarian fidelity. The result of this attitude was unquestionably to stereotype the past in a land that never has discarded it with ease." (*Subject India*, Bombay, 1946 pp. 19-20)

Similarly B. R. Ambedkar, the Depressed Class leader observed :

> "So far as we are concerned, the British Government has accepted the Social arrangements as it found them" (Parliamentary Papers, Indian Round Table Conference, First Session 12th Nov., 1930-19 January, 1931, cmd. 3778, 5th Plenary Meeting (General Discussion), p.133. B R. Ambedkar's Speech on 20 November, 1930.)

3 See "The Hindu Social System" by L. S. S. O'Malley, C. I. E., in O'Malley, ed., *Modern India and the West*, London, 1968, p. 375.

4. Ibid.

5. See A. R. Desai, *Social Background of Indian Nationlism*, Bombay, 1959, p. 249.

6. Louise Ouwerkerk, *The Untouchable Classes of India*, Oxford, 1945, p. 371.

7. See J. N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, Delhi, 1967, p. 371.

8. M. K. Gandhi's notes in *Young India*. 24 Nov., 1920. Gandhi regarded the British Government as an "Unscrupulous Corporation", "quite capable of taking advantage of the internal weakness of Hinduism."

Developmental Process in two Tribal Villages of Orissa

—Dr. Uma Charan Mohanty

Tribal development plans and projects in India are not only epoch making in their approach, but are also executed comprehensively. Yet, it is surprising that inspite of multifarious plans and projects, many tribal communities are still struggling with their age-old problems of starvation, disease and ignorance. No doubt, with a view to achieving greater success in development work, bench mark surveys, follow up studies, various types of evaluations, right from opinion surveys to sophisticated experimental designs, are being carried out by both official and non-official agencies from time to time. Yet, considering the multistranded culture of Indian society, its geographic diversities and economic disparities, there is urgent need for more of such evaluation studies for different parts of the country, for different ethnic groups. It is hoped that with such data, both administrators and social scientists can, (i) assess the over-all picture of the country's development (ii) Plug the loopholes in the development process and (iii) adopt more effective strategy to achieve greater success.

In the present paper an attempt is made to study developmental process in two tribal villages. But before I present the data a short discussion regarding the utility of such micro-level case studies may not be considered out of context. In the planning and execution of developmental projects the contributions of anthropologists are not considered valuable for two reasons, viz (1) the planners fail to understand how the anthropological, micro-level case studies can be of use in their planning and execution at the micro-level (2) it is presumed that anthropological case studies are too naive and

can be derived easily by common sense knowledge, particularly by seasoned administrators. Anthropological methods have come under fire in the writings of such people as Cochrane who has suggested that anthropologists should better equip themselves with inter-disciplinary approach and that they should attend to more urgent problems. But the present paper does not aspire to discuss such complex issues at theoretical level. The objective of the paper is to record ordinary incidents which are occurring everywhere, everyday, in specific areas and to analyse such incidents with a view to exploring the trend of developmental process within a socio-cultural milieu and assess their positive or negative results. Secondly the documentation of such day-to-day incidents, in a particular tribal community, it is hoped, may give a more realistic picture of the developmental process of backward tribes as against the voluminous official statistics that blurs or presents a distorted picture of the general development.

In the early sixties the Government of India thought of initiating a new special project called "Pilot Project" for which the Saora area of Orissa was earmarked. It was rumoured in those days that the Government of India would provide intensive financial assistance and technical know-how, while the plans and projects would be executed by the tribal elites. But somehow the scheme could not operate in that form. At a later stage in 1970, the Government of India formulated new type of Tribal Development Projects and identified eight tribal areas for intensive tribal development work in different parts of India. Each of these projects was executed by an organization called the Tribal Development Agency (TDA).

An intensive study of the working of TDA projects assumes great relevance since these were executed after valuable experiences derived from the implementation of Tribal Development Blocks and before the introduction of Integrated Tribal Development Projects under the Subplans. It is, therefore, presumed that the study of TDA projects may help in more

effective and successful implementation of Integrated Tribal Development Projects.

Out of the eight TDA projects, two were sanctioned for Orissa which were adjacent to each other in the districts of Koraput and Ganjam of South Orissa. The project of Koraput district was designated as TDA Gunapur while the project of Ganjam district was designated as TDA Parlakhemendi after the names of the Sub-Divisional Headquarters where the project offices were situated. Both the projects started in 1972 and continued until 1979 when these must have merged with the ITDPs of Parlakhemendi and Gunapur respectively.

The present paper does not aspire to evaluate the two TDA projects as each project covered an extensive area and hence beyond the scope of this short paper. In the present paper the study of development work has been confined to two villages which belonged to these two projects. But before discussing these two villages, a brief account of these two projects may not be out of context.

TDA Projects of Orissa :

As referred to above the two Tribal Development Agencies aimed mainly at the economic development of the tribals. Tribal Development Agency had been conceived to serve as a catalyst fostering, stimulating and accelerating the development of the project area.

Programmes of both the projects included such items as clearing and levelling the land for agriculture and horticulture, minor-irrigation works, developing subsidiary occupations through animal husbandry, and rural industries. As mentioned in the 'Administration Report' of the Parlakhemendi TDA the strategy they adopted for economic development was as follows :

i) To wean away the tribals from Podu cultivation and encourage as many tribal families as possible to take up settled agricultural practices.

ii) Introduction of improved agricultural practices for higher yield.

iii) Utilisation of water resources to the extent possible.

iv) Provision of subsidiary occupations and employment facilities.

v) Introduction of channel for ready flow of credit.

vi) Introduction of a system through which the tribals can get their daily necessities of life at a fair price.

vii) Developing the different infrastructural base in the tribal area.

Each of the Tribal Development Agencies was provided with exclusive grants, chiefly by the Government of India, Ministry of Agriculture. and occasionally supplemented by grants and allotments of the State Government. The Projects were administered by the T. & R.W. Department of Orissa Government at the State level, while at the project level a Governing Body was constituted for each project with the respective District Collector as the Chairman and the Project Director as the Secretary. Officials of different departments, local M.L.As. and M. Ps. were ordinary members of the Governing Body. Majority of the programmes were implemented through the respective departmental officials in co-operation with Block officials and allotments were made to different Administrative Departments which executed specific schemes.

Table No. 1 gives the basic information regarding the two project areas and their population.

TABLE-1

Area and Population of the two Projects

Items	TDA, Parlakhemendi	TDA, Gunapur
Total project area	3772.7 sq.km.	4270.91 sq.km.
Number of T.D. or N.E.S.Blocks	8 (eight)	7 (seven)
Number of Gramapanchayats	85	N.A.
Number of inhabited villages	1737	1290+37 hamlets.
Population	3,55,764	2,61,022
Density of population per sq.km.	98.7	61
Percentage of rural population	92.3	93.3
Population of Scheduled Tribes	1,69,683	1,51,435
Percentage of Scheduled Tribes	52.41	58
Population of Scheduled Castes	36,023 (10.1%)	35,061 (13.4%)

TABLE-2

The financial outlay as regards different sectors and expenditure incurred in both the projects.

SECTOR	Outlay as per revised action plan and as approved by Government of India (Period 1972-79) (*Rupees in Lakhs*)	
Items	TDA, Parlakhemendi	TDA, Gunapur
1. Land shaping and Development	34.10	21.75) 6.00) 27.750
2. Agriculture including horticulture	45.35	37.510
3. Irrigation	61.00	71.575
4 Communication (rural feeder roads)	40.00	35.000
5. Animal husbandry	6.10	6.700
6. Coffee Plantation	1.75	4.700
7. Forestry	9.00	5.000
8. Rural Industries	1.00	1.100
9. Co-operation	15.000	14.000
10. Arterial Roads	50.00	50.000
11. Bench mark Survey	00.25	00.350
12. Training and Publicity	1.70	00.720
13. Research, Evaluation and Seminars	3.05	5.100
14. Administration and Project staff	11.40	20.000
15. Legal Assistance to tribals	.30	00.025
16. Construction of office building	—	0.400
17. Fishery	—	0.070
	280.00	280.000

The total outlay for each project from 1972 to 1979 was Rs. 2, 80, 00, 000. The total outlay of both the projects amounted to Rs. 5, 60, 00,000 and almost all the amount has been spent during the target period as these were time-bound projects. According to the project report of TDA in Parlakhemendi 66,444 tribals were benefited by different schemes and it is presumed that there were an equal number of beneficiaries in the project areas of Gunapur also. But all these statistics do not convey the nature of benefit derived by tribal families. In the following account the detailed case histories of developmental work will be presented.

Selection of the Village :

The present paper tries to assess the achievement of these projects by a study of development work in two villages. These two villages belong to the tribe called Lanjia Saora or Hill Saoras. They are considered as one of the most primitive tribes of the State and by the study of these two villages, I intend to explore the nature of success or failure and associated barriers or stimulants for developmental work for this comparatively backward community.

The Lanjia Saoras depend chiefly on shifting cultivation and collection of minor forest produce but they are also noted for their skill in raising rice in terraced fields at different altitudes of the hill slopes. Unlike tribes in the mining belt or in the vicinity of industrial complex, the Saoras have had limited contacts with modernizing agents. Though the process of politicization and the spread of Christianity have brought some amount of social change, their economic life still remains undisturbed.

The two villages selected for our investigation, are not only representative of the Lanjia Saoras but also of the two project areas of two districts. The first. village Rejingtal

belongs to TDA, Gunapur of Koraput district while the other village Tumun belongs to TDA, Parlakhemendi of Ganjam district. Though both are Saora villages and have cultural affinities, they represent two different traditional regions, having different physical and social ecology. The following description of each village would give clear picture as to their specialities.

The village Rejingtal is situated in an area of high concentration of the Saora, noted for the dominance of their leaders and the presence of traditional culture. It is situated at a distance of 12 miles from Gunapur, the nearest urban centre and is adjacent to the village Pottasing, an Oriya village, where Government offices, the Police Station, the Ashram School, the six-bedded hospital etc, are situated. Rejingtal, a comparatively big Saora village, has 74 families and 460 persons all belonging to the same Lanjia Saora community. Being on a hill slope, the six wards of the village are situated at different levels.

The people of the village chiefly depend on shifting cultivation. Although all have some amount of hill slopes, only a few comparatively well-to-do persons are the owners of rice fields of the village. Except shifting cultivation and gleaning economy of the forest, the villagers of Rejingtal have no other source of income. Even in the agricultural sector, due to co-operative form of labour organization, agrestic labour is highly non-remunerative. Most of the poor people have to work as agricultural labourers of the few well-to-do Saoras who are owners of paddy fields and who cultivate hill slopes more extensively. The only scope for the villagers to add to their meagre income is to migrate to the tea gardens of Assam or NEFA borders where they earn hard cash with which they purchase land or cattle or redeem their old loans.

The other village in Parlakhemendi is more accessible and lies near R. Udayagiri, a fairly urbanised village which contains

large number of offices that have emerged in post-Independence era. In this village of Tumun live only 23 families out of which three belong to other communities, one being the village blacksmith and two others are inferior Arsi Saoras who live as landless labourers in the village. The villagers have only hill slopes and kitchen gardens and they have no rice fields. In post-Independence era a few of the Saoras, with their diligence and frugal habits, have been able to advance loans to Oriya people of R. Udayagiri and are cultivating the mortgaged rice fields. The economic disparity is comparatively less in this village and the rudimentary form of stratification found in the other village is more or less absent here. The Saoras of this village have never gone beyond their village to sell their labour and very rarely they undertake contract labour when the neighbouring villagers request for the same. Ofcourse during heavy agricultural season they work for neighbouring Saoras and Oriyas mostly on reciprocal basis or out of social obligation arising from bond friendship. In the village Tumun extensive welfare programmes have been executed through a voluntary organisation called Naba-Jeeban Mandal.

During the period of intensive development work in both the villages the following schemes were operated by TDA.

TABLE-3

Development work in two villages

Rejingtal	Dug-well schemes	Poultry development, Guava Orchard
Tumun	Do	Goat rearing

Details of all these schemes, how these were implemented, and what benefits are accruing out of these schemes at present would be discussed briefly below.

Dug-well Scheme :

Dug-well scheme is one of the most effective schemes which can bring a total change to small farmers. An individual peasant can augment his income through dug well as he can have irrigation facility in his small field in which he can raise two or three crops so that his economic condition can be improved radically within a very short period. Both the TDAs concentrated their efforts on this scheme. Extensive publicity was made by both Block Officials and Panchayat Samiti members to pursuade people in taking initiative so that they derive maximum benefits from this scheme. I first came across the working of this project in the village in the R. Udayagiri Block in the year 1973. At that time TDA was providing 50% of the finance needed in the scheme. In those days Government Officials were preaching that only with a little labour a Saora can get a free well which is too expensive in those areas, But unfortunately at that time Tumun could not derive any benefit from this scheme as no bank volunteered to advance loan in this backward area of Nuagada block. In 1975 when I visited Rejingtal I found that four people were given the loans and they were busy in the digging and construction work. They were indeed happy as a large amount of money had come to their hand. They were just supervising while the Panos of Pottasing were engaged as labourers in this construction work. Subsequently the Nuagada Block could obtain cooperation from the bank and villagers of Tumun could avail themselves of this opportunity by 1978.

Motivation

In the village Rejingtal the Grama Sevaka had first informed people regarding this scheme and individually approached fairly well-to-do people and suggested to them to apply for wells. It seems most of the people were given the impression that with little expenditure they can get good profit. The village headman, the Gamang and the Ex-Sarpanch did not apply. The Ex-Sarpanch had bitter experience of welfare work and he had

been charged for unsatisfactory construction work and was asked to pay an amount involving several thousand rupees. So his indifference was obvious. It seems the announcement that two or three thousand rupees will be available for each applicant created a good competition. Out of several others who were applicants for the loan, only four were lucky to get the amount sanctioned in their favour. Most of the people who were selected for such project were fairly well-to-do and with some paddy land at their disposal.

Name of the grantee	Birinda	Amount of land owned	Amount allotted Rs.
1. Railu	Dalabehera	4-5 acres	1,700/-
2. Tumbu	Dalabehera	4-5 acres	2,540/-
3. Dambtu	Dalabehera	4 acres	2,500/-
4. Tinkudu	Gamang	12 acres	2,800/-

It seems the officials gave idea that the well can be dug with a small amount of money and that the surplus money can be spent to purchase plough or cattle. More or less all were lured by this propaganda. As Tumbu narrated, "I was preparing my plough when the Grama Savaka, with moustaches, came to me and practically dragged me to the spot where application was written. I was not interested but when the extraordinary profit was placed before me, I was tempted to sign". More or less all the recipients dreamt of getting a good profit after the construction of the well. Nobody ever desired to improve their agriculture through these wells. Primarily they were not acquainted with irrigational agriculture. Secondly all of them felt over-worked in their existing pattern of agricultural operation and they could hardly imagine to take up extra pains to raise some crops beyond the agricultural season. Of course Railu and Dambtu expected that with the well they could get

drinking water for their use. But none was very much interested in using the well for irrigational purposes for raising extra crops or vegetables.

Bureaucratic Constraints :

It would appear that the bureaucratic constraints were not the great barriers. Since the officials took the leadership to encourage people to apply, they did not harass the people in any way. However, it was known to every body that a huge sum of money was being given to each applicant for nothing and at different stages they had tried to take their shares or bribes however little it might be. People were not very frank about the amount they had spent to get their grants sanctioned. However rough estimate of transactions is given below as narrated by informants :

For writing application (paid to Doms of Pottasing)	Rs. 10/-
Grama Sevaka	Rs. 10/- to 30/-
Sarpanch	Rs. 20/- to 60/-
Barik of the village for going to Gunapur (4 or 5 times)	Rs. 100/-
Overseer	Rs. 200/-

The bank gave the money in instalments and officers were enquiring if they have to pay any amount to any officials. The Saoras informed me that they had been told by Sarpanch and Grama Sevak not to say anything regarding the bribes. Any way the amounts were smoothly sanctioned and paid in instalments though an amount of Rs. 200/- to Rs. 300/- was spent by each recipient out of his own pocket.

Wages Altered :

But one thing occurred which was beyond the calculation of the recipients. They were not very well acquainted with construction of wells. They had no technological knowledge

in this regard, so they heavily depended on the scheduled caste labourers of Pottasing. Learning that the Saoras are given huge sums they contracted that for bringing each piece of small stone at least 0.25 paise should be given to them. There were no experienced masons in this area. When Government buildings were constructed in Pottasing some of the Pano (Scheduled Caste) labourers learnt the mason work. But they also did not apply any sand or cement at the time of construction of the inner walls of the well. Only the well was dug and stones were packed as inner walls of the well. As the well was completed the Saoras learnt that not only had they spent the sanctioned amount but also some money of their own.

Location of the Wells :

The profit motive was the chief attraction. So two wells were constructed in the paddy fields where water flows with great speed during the rainy days. Both the wells of the the Railu and Tinkudu which were on the lowest level and where water was remaining even in summer, were washed away within two years. There is no trace of Railu's well while the protecting wall of the dug well of Tinkudu collapsed inside the well. Dambtu's and Tumbu's wells are intact now also, but no body uses these wells for any purpose. These wells do not have sufficient water during summer season and through disuse both the wells are polluted.

First Year Crop :

In the first year Railu planted summer paddy (Amba Dhana). Tinkuda had no necessity, as the spring gives sufficient water for Amba Dhana. Dambtu raised a plot of onion and after his consumption got a profit of Rs. 20/-. But later he found the entire operation too expensive and did not do any cultivation. Tumbu's well is situated where there is no scope for agriculture.

Present Situation

The net result of this project is that the wells have been completely useless at present and were of no use right from the beginning. On the other hand they have made the well-to-do tribal land owning peasants heavily indebted. The table below shows the position.

Year of sanction 1973	Tumbu	Railu	Dambtu	Tinkudu
Amount sanctioned and paid	2540.00	1700.00	2500.00	2540.00
Interest accrued	103.89	72.42	101 66	118.25
Total amount allotted	2643.89	1772.42	2601.66	2658.25
Subsidy deducted	1270.00	850.00	1250.00	1250.00
Balance by Nov.1973	1373.89	922.42	1351.66	1408.25
Total payment made	400.00	635.72	510.00	N.A.
Balance to be paid with interest as on March 1979	1850.57	833.57	1813.83	700.00

Thus the above picture shows that though the well is of no use the interest is rapidly increasing. It is a redeeming factor that all the recipients of the loans are well-to-do and annually receive good profit from red grams that they grow on the hill slopes. But it is unfortunate that the major share of their only cash crop, they deposit towards the payment of their debt. One can imagine how rapidly the interest is increasing by taking the case of Dambtu. After the deduction of 50% of subsidy he had a balance of 1351.66 by Nov. 1973. Now the interest on this balance amount has gone up to 972.17p. Thus after a deposit of Rs 510 he has a balance of Rs. 1813.83. Similarly others have to pay heavy interest as they cannot pay the balance money in one year.

Dug-wells in Tumun :

The dug-well scheme in this village was somewhat less taxing. There were factors which also reduced the burden of the Saoras to a great extent. Firstly in Ganjam the Government of Orissa was also giving 25% subsidy in addition to the 50% subsidy of the TDA project. Since the amount might be mis-appropriated the Government was giving the amount in kind, perhaps under the food for work scheme. Secondly when the money was sanctioned Government was deducting 50% of the amount payable and was giving the balance for the full utilization by the grantee without any obligation to repay. The total number of applications under this scheme were six out of which money was sanctioned in favour of five people. The Saoras of Tumun have very little paddy land. They depend fully on the hill slopes. The few pieces that are cultivating at present are mortgaged as security to Oriyas for the credit given. However, all these people have no land near the village. So they have dug the wells far away from the village in the midst of jungles. The wells were dug by the Panos of Tikamal who dug the well on contract basis. Some sixteen or seventeen persons came in a group, dug the well and completed the stone lining. But they also did not use cement or lime, nor were protecting walls constructed. The case of Jaganath can be cited to show the financial aspect, of the project. Thus out of the sanctioned amount of Rupees fifteen hundred Government deducted the 50% of subsidy and paid Rs. 800/- and 17 small bags of wheat. Jaganath consumed 5 bags of wheat at home and gave the Panos of Tikamal 12 bags of wheat and Rs. 800/-. Construction was completed within 20 to 25 days. Now all the wells are situated in places which are in the midst of bushes and visited by the cattle of the village. In the first year they tried to grow tomato, onion and wheat. But due to cattle depredations they could not harvest the crops. But still they are trying to put a fence and reclaim land near the wells. As the wells have no protecting walls and inner walls are not plastered these wells are

likely to collapse after two or three years. The only matter of consolation is that Tumun cultivators are not indebted to Government, as the case of the grantees of Rejingtal area. But in both the villages wells have not served any useful purpose except providing some amount of employment to scheduled caste Panos who dug the wells for the Saoras.

Poultry Distribution :

This scheme was operated in Rejingtal. For the whole Panchayat of Pottasing the TDA distributed six R. I. R. fowls in April 1978. Each of the birds were purchased at a cost of Rs. 17/-. In Rejingtal out of six, four fowls were distributed to four people. Two months later when I visited the village Rejingtal, there was only one surviving fowl. The rest had died as per information of the villagers. As there was no concerted effort to develop a poultry unit the solitary fowl expired.

Goat Distribution in Tumun (Time 1977-78.) :

One day the BDO of Nuagada Block came in his vehicle to R.Udayagiri with Co-operative Extension Officer, Bank Supervisor and stayed in the Inspection Bungalow (IB) of the same village. He sent the Grama Sevaka and villagers of Tumun were brought to the IB. They were told that goats will be distributed to intending candidates, who would tend and breed these goats for improving their own economic condition. From Tumun seven people volunteered and gave applications for the same. Out of them five people were given four goats each, while the remaining two persons were given cash.

TABLE-5

Distribution of goats in Tumun

Name of recipients	No. of family members	Amount of land in hectare	No. of goats received	Amount of money received Rs.	No of goats still surviving
1. Rakindra	3	0.739	4	x	x
2. Sundam	5	1.179	4		
3. Mohan	5	1.178	4		
4. Kulamoni	3	1.224	4		2
5. Sata	9	3.593	4		
6. Gourang	2	0.0674		250	
7. Derema	10	3.400		250	

Out of Rs. 250 which Gourang and Derema received, each had to deposit Rs. 25 as the share capital in Co-operative Bank and out of the balance amount each of them purchased three goats from the open market. By the time the goats were received they were suffering from skin diseases. So they started dying after their arrival and within two months majority of the goats died and the rest died slowly. But the greatest evil effect was that the same disease spread to other healthy goats and some of the goats of the villagers also died in this process. With their experience of dug-well, people had the notion that they need not pay any amount.

But according to conditions of the loan given by Co-operative department only 50% was subsidy. After one year people knew that they had to repay some amount. So the villagers tried to sell whatever they had and repaid their balance loan. In the village, at the time of my field work, only Kulamoni had two surviving goats while all other goats were dead or sold away.

it was reported that some of the dying goats were killed and eaten which effected the health of the people. The people had to repay some money from their purse and goats died without adding to the economic wellbeing of these people.

Guava Orchard in Rejingtal (November 1978) :

TDA had transferred a lump sum amount to the Agricultural Department which was executing different schemes in different villages. In Rejingtal they planned to make a guava orchard for the benefit of the tribals. Before implementing the programme a young man of the village, a worker of the Janata party was informed by TDA. Officials that the Government was interested in making a guava orchard in the village. When the young political worker informed the traditional leaders regarding this new project both the village headman and Ex-Sarpanch flatly rejected such a proposal as they suspected that the Saoras cannot get any benefit from such an orchard as the Doms of Pottasing would definitely steal away all the fruits even if the orchard is successful. So they expressed the view that they did not like to waste their time and energy in such a useless project. However, on the appointed day the Agricultural Department brought a truck load of guava plants. But the initial difficulty was the non-availability of labour. With the help of the Sarpanch and Janata Party workers some people could be persuaded to work for the orchard. As there was no suitable land available they decided to make the orchard on the hill slopes. So all the trees were cut and removed. Unfortunately the portion they cleared, was being enjoyed by the poorest lineage of the village though legally all hill slopes are considered as Government land. The one unfortunate thing was that some useful Salap trees whose sap is drunk as food were cut down in the process of clearing the forest. The labourers were given wages under the scheme "food for work." At different places of the hill slope the guava saplings were planted. For the protection and watering of the plants

Government officials selected eight persons of the village and assured them that they would be given some Banjar land and mustard seeds for their cultivation. These eight people informed me that they tried their best to water the plants. But gradually the plants withered and after December cattle were set free for grazing. By January the S. D. O. visited the project and sought the help of the Ashram school teachers. But they refused to take up this work until all the land was registered in favour of the Ashram school. By June there was no trace of any plant though some places where saplings were planted, could be identified. The villagers informed me that nearly an amount of thirty thousand rupees was spent in this project. I could not get any information about the amount spent on this project as no information was with the TDA Office. The project afficials could take photographs after planting the guava trees but not a single plant could survive for more than three months.

Discussion :

Anthropologists have broadly conceptualised development as a process of technological change and they try to analyse different phases of the introduction of innovations, and the socio-cultural factors that lead to their acceptance or rejection. They describe the cultural back ground, values, and attitudes of the recipient society and suggest how innovations can be introduced without any friction. In the two villages four types of innovations, viz, (1) improved variety of poultry, (2) improved variety of goats, (3) dug-wells for irrigation, and (4) horticulture, have been introduced. There was almost no resistance from the people's side except slight criticism by the village elites of the plan for the guava archard. Yet, as we have seen, none of these projects did any good for the supposed beneficiaries. Rather, some people have been in a more disadvantageous situation after the acceptance of financial assistance under these schemes. We cannot simply say that the schemes were not successful due to the backwardness of tribal communities.

Reasons for such failures are many, some are very general while others are due to specific situation in these villages. Here some of the shortcomings which are of a general nature, and some others as perceived by the present investigator are given below. These can be broadly categorised under three levels such as 1) Administrative 2) Technological or Scientific and 3) Social or Socio-cultural.

Failure at Administrative Level

By administrative, I mean both Government policy and the method of their execution. In India all types of welfare schemes and economic development works have been entrusted to the bureaucracy. Unfortunately for the Indian bureaucracy, execution of such developmental programmes is a novel experience. The Indian bureaucracy which developed during colonial regime was effective to maintain law and order in the country, but without any experience of executing constructive works at the grass root level. On the other hand, as a matter of policy, the Indian planning fails miserably since they have kept in their view the financial targets rather than physical targets. In such situations the total impact of the planning is not assessed directly. Particularly, because the entire TDA programme was a time bound programme, the bureaucracy spent more time in disbursing the amounts within the prescribed period rather than devoting more time and attention to productive developmental process. There was no attempt to assess the "felt needs" of the people nor was there any endeavour to follow up and assess the utility that accrued from these schemes. Before implementing different schemes there was no attempt to explain the objectives of the programmes to the people who were anxious to take advantage of these new opportunities. The money was given to applicants without any training to them as to how to adopt and utilize these innovations. The distribution of goats and fowls was clearly uneconomic as these improved animals and fowls could not survive

in the new environment where they could not get requisite food and protection. The veterinary unit should have trained people how to tend these animals and should have made necessary arrangements for treatment much before such distribution.

Finally officials who were in charge of these developmental works only visited once for a short while, distributed the money and demanded the repayment of the balance amount without participating in the developmental process.

If we analyse the dug-well scheme we can see that all the nine wells which could bring agricultural revolution in these villages failed miserably. The officials did not discuss with the people how to utilize the well and how it could help in improving their economic condition. People felt that by digging a well they would derive some monetary benefits. They were not at all interested to dig wells for growing vegetables for which they had no suitable land. The site selection for all the wells was defective.

The guava orchard withered just after planting but there was no fixation of responsibility. Since TDA entrusted the work to Agriculture Department and the department executed the programmes through Block level officials, the ultimate responsibility was distributed among different officials and hence nobody could be booked for such faulty execution and damage to the useful trees of the poor tribals.

The Tribal Development Agency was more or less a money distributing agency while respective departments were entrusted with execution of different schemes. They were responsible to their respective department heads and had no enthusiasm for inter-departmental co-operative work. Nor were these officers oriented in tribal welfare work.

The present form of development work looks like distribution of food and clothes as relief measures in situations of

flood and drought. For initiating proper development care and caution would be necessary at the level of execution.

Failure in introducing suitable Technological and Scientific Innovations :

For the spontaneous acceptance of an innovation two things are necessary; 1) it should provide greater utility and higher efficiency in comparison to traditional tools, methods or practices, 2) it should be compatible with traditional culture and there should be sufficient financial capacity to adopt the innovation. In the TDA projects distribution of both goats and fowls did not bring desired results not because they were incompatible to tribal culture where goat rearing and poultry are important adjuncts to their main economy. But the introduction of improved breeds in tribal areas required much more careful study, planning and foresight. Particularly, experience of success and failure should be kept in view before introducing innovations in a routine manner.

Any improved variety of fowl, goat or cattle which are reared in different climatic conditions and carefully brought up in artificial environmental conditions should not be introduced in tribal areas without sufficient training to innovators only after building up the infrastructure such as veterinary services, and supply of nutrition these innovations should be introduced. Instead of introduction of improved varieties of goats and fowls, it is better to improve local breeds which are adjusted to the local environment. In different parts of India, particularly in areas of white revolution, local breeds have been successfully improved. Such experiments could be adopted in tribal areas particularly in growth centres from which nearing practices could be disseminated to other inaccessible areas.

Unfortunately the normal pattern of agricultural practices of shifting cultivation remains almost static and tradition-oriented. Until now no suitable research or experiment has

been conducted that would help a shifting cultivator. Introduction of dug-wells no doubt, could provide some irrigational facility in the scanty low level lands, available in these tribal villages. With successful irrigation, the static economy of the shifting cultivators could be revolutionised. But in both the villages no serious effort has been made to utilize these wells effectively. It is clear that the people in the two villages wanted dug-wells so that they could make a profit. A few people wanted a well with a view to get drinking water. But none was interested to improve his agricultural productivity and augment his income through well-irrigation.

If wells could be constructed successfully and pumping machines could be provided the entire economic life could be revolutionised. But prior to that, development of land to be irrigated by the wells, equitable distribution of such irrigated land, organization of co-operative efforts are some essential p e-requisites for the successful implementation of irrigation schemes.

Plantation of guava orchards in Rejingtal only indicates how unscientific and careless were the agricultural experts entrusted with this responsibility. Without any scientific training, the Saoras have been growing mango, jackfruits, date palms, salap trees and the best variety of oranges in limited areas. With slight effort they could be trained in raising fruit trees. Had the authorities simply distributed the guava plants and given incentives to successful farmers, quite a large number of fruit trees could be grown in both the villages, since the cultivation of orange and other fruit trees is ingrained in their traditional culture. But people should be given the full freedom to choose the site, plant, watering facility and protect the young plants from cattle or other animals. To make horticulture schemes successful, the Government officials should have established in each area, small agricultural demonstration farms where villagers could be trained in horticulture and scientific methods of cultivation.

Finally what is needed at present is that the existing tribal economy should be revolutionised with the help of scientific innovations. Not only there is need to find out existing economic pattern, the extent of poverty and economic disparity, there is also greater need to make adequate survey in tribal areas to explore economic potentialities of the area for developing strategy for their utilisation. Further, in each area research centres should be organized to explore the suitability of different scientific findings and to devise methods for their successful adaptations to the local conditions. The success of developmental plans depend also on the successful reorganisation of the community and on its participation in the developmental process

Organization at the Community Level :

With the tempo of development work a new ideology is entering into tribal areas. Normally tribal society is based on integration at the community level or on clan solidarity. But the present administration is emphasizing on the initiative of a few individuals who receive all the benefits of new opportunities. In tribal communities, inspite of dissensions, factions and clan rivalries, a high degree of cohesion is found in the economic sphere. Planners should have capitalized on such natural integrative forces for a successful implementation of their project. No doubt the bureaucracy as such cannot devote all their time and energy to watch the developmental process in remote tribal villages. The need of the hour is to reinforce the existing integrative forces with the community. The administration could encourage the tribal communities to take up these developmental projects as a solution to their poverty and backwardness. Such a process can be initiated when all the surplus village land and forest can be transferred to the village council. Indeed, reorganizing village leadership at the community level is the urgent need of the hour. Right from Gandhiji to Lokanayak Jaya Prakash, leaders have been enphasizing the need of strengthening the village council (not the statutory

Gram Panchayats which have failed miserably due to lack of a cohesive social force) and community leadership. In unicaste or multicaste villages there are problems of various nature that may deter the developmental process. But in these tribal pockets where society is more simple and homogeneous and less stratified, development work could be introduced at the community level. If such experiments could be more successful, they can be easily extended to advanced plain areas with more complex social organisation.

References :

Cochrane, Glynn (1971), *Development Anthropology.*

Foster, G.M. (1973), *Traditional Societies and Technological change. Allied Publishers Private Ltd., Bombay.*

Gunapur Tribal Development Agency, Gunapur, District Koraput 1977-78 (1979), *Administration Report 1977-78.*

Tribal Development Agency, Parlakhemandi, District Ganjam 1979 (1979), *An account of our achievement for the period ending March, 1979 (Seventh Annual Report).*

Spicer, Edward H. (1971), *Human Problems in Technological Change.*

New Interpretation of the Word 'Arya'

—Dr. Suhrid Kumar Bhowmik

This is an attempt to interpret the word ARYA with the help of tribal languages and traditions in India. According to some scholars, no word but *Arya* of Sanskrit language has been interpreted most disputably by some European scholars specially for political purposes. Prof. Winfred P. Lehmann in his book *Historical Linguistics : An Introduction* tells (Page 19), "Others, using a term which the early Indic and Celtic authors applied to their own people, called the family *Aryan* ; this name is now in dispute because of a misuse of it for devious political purposes." Well-known sociologist Dr. B. N. Dutt in his *Studies In Indian Social Polity* and other books like *Bharatiya Samaj Paddhati (3 Vols)* has described how Aryan-Theory is nothing but an Aryan Mythology of getting political power of some European Nations. Max Muller who was responsible for Aryan theory, last of all had to say, "Aryan, in scientific language, is utterly inapplicable to race. It means language, and nothing but language and if we speak of Aryan race at all, we should know that it means no more than X Aryan speech (Vedic Age, P. 201). Yet, Prof. A. L. Basham of recent years in his popular book, *The Wonder that was India* (1979 edn.) opines in the chapter, 'Indo-Europeans and the Aryans', "The invaders of India called themselves *Aryas*, a word generally anglicized into *Aryan*. (P. 28)" though it is quite impossible to discover any old record in Sanskrit in which the 'invaders (!) called themselves Aryas'. Neither Max Muller's argument for *Aryan* to be a language nor Prof. Basham's comment on the *invading* people calling themselves to be Aryan is true,

Pandit Amulya Charan Vidyabhushan in his article *Vedadi Granthe Arya Sabder Byabahar* (The Usages of the word Arya in the Vedas) informs us that this word has been used in the Rigveda for 32 times. Vidyabhusan also tells us how Sayanacharya explained the word as— (1) *Vinja Yonjanusthata* (2) *Vinja Stota* (3) *Vinja Araniya* (4) *Uttama Varna* (5) *Traivarnika* (6) *Manu* (7) *Karmayukta* (8) *Devopasaka* (9) *Shrestha Karmanusthata.*

These are the nine meanings out of the total number of the usages of the word *Arya* in the Rigveda. *Arya* was to mean a language or a race—such type of interpretation we cannot get from any Sanskrit source. Somehow Vidyabhushan concluded his article saying, 'It is also found that even after the Vedic period, the word *Arya* had been used to mean an agriculturist or a businessman (Vaisya). But there are some slokas in the Rigveda in which the word *Arya* had been used to mean an agriculturist.

Ahang bhumimada damaryahang bristing dashute mortyaya. —4.26.2. Indra tells, "I have given land (for cultivation) to the Arya-men (cultivators). Those who offer me fire-sacrifice I get them rain (for proper cultivation)"—(from the Bengali version done by Dr.Hangsa Narayan Bhattacharya,*(Hinduder Devadevi*). Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutt says, "We read in the Rigveda that the Vedic people would get themselves acquainted to others according to their communes as Bharata Janas, or Arya—meaning cultivators" (Bharatiya Samaj Paddhati) :

Long ago, Pandit Kali Prasanna Das in his voluminous book *Hindu Samaj Vinjan* wrote, "In so many slokas of the Rigveda cultivation has been mentioned. Gods have been invoked with prayers for getting the soil well rained. So their (Western-Scholars) opinion is that, the society in which the Veda was created was in a very primary stage of cultivation when agriculture had been started only. They are saying, Vedic rhymes

are basically the songs of the cultivators !" (P-2). Thus Kali Prasanna criticised the opinions of some Western Scholars ; but he indirectly told the truth—if we know the word *Arya* means basically a cultivator !

The root-word of *Arya* is *Ri* or *Ar* meaning 'to cultivate' or to *Plough*. Zenaide Ragozine in his *Vedic India* says (P 61-62), "Let us now take the Sanskrit root *Ar* of which the general and original meaning is plough. We find it intact in Latin and Italian *arere*, in Slavic *arati*—to plough, in Greek *arotron*, Latin *aratrum*, Tcheck (so-called Bohemian, a Slavic language) *oradlo*—a plough, in English *arable*—fit to be ploughed, in Greek *aroura*, Latin *arvum*—a ploughed field, whence *aroma*, originally beyond doubt signifies the peculiar fragrance of a ploughed field; of the loose, moist, upturned earth. It has even been suggested—but the attractive suggestion has unfortunately not been proved to be capable of sufficient scientific proof that the name *Arya* is itself connected with the root, and that the people who took it for their own originally meant to call themselves "*the people who plough*" in proud distinction from their sheep-raising, steppe-roaming, robber-neighbours, the *Tura*. At the time when we begin to know them, *Arya* meant noble, *exalted, venerable*, the name had become something almost sacred. It embodied the Aryan people's national pride--or a feeling deeper still, more intense, enduring, and inspiring; their pride of race, and that down to a very late period; for was not Dereios, the great Persian King, careful to the preface of his family geneology in his famous inscription by the statement; I am an *Arya*, the son of an *Arya* ?

If the sheep-raising, steppe-roaming nomadic tribes had no link with agriculture, we should examine closely the source from which the word *Ar* might have come. This word has come from the Austric people, who from time immemorial had been living a settled and agriculture-based life, and by that

time they had been blended with the Dravids. In Austric languages *Aryao* means to cultivate. Thus in Sanskrit *Aryao* having the root-word *aryan* was placed from the *Asura* or Austric origin. In present Santali language *aryao* or *ărjao* is very popular for agriculture. In Santali *cele arjao akadam* means *what's about your cultivation* ? In Eastern India, especially in Bengal, *aryao* is pronounced as *arjao*. Here Y is spoken like J As cultivation was the main source of income from *arjao* (agriculture) *arjon* (income) has come. In North India *arjon* (income) would have been pronounced as *Aryon* which may be the source of English *earn* as we can guess *surya* may produce *solar* (sulya) and *sun* (sunyo). Somehow, from the same word *arjao ajao* has come in Bengali dialects. Specially in *Rarh Bengal* (West part of West Bengal and east part of Bihar) it means to plant or transplantation of tree. This word is very popular. Even Dr. Sukumar Sen in his autobiography, *Diner pare Din je Gelo (Passing away the days)*, has mentioned several times the word *ajao* to mean to plant or transplantation of trees. The word *ajano* has not been included in any Bengali popular dictionary.

Thus, through the help of a comparative Study of tribal languages of Austro-Asiatic group, we can come to this conclusion that *Arjao*, the tribal word was the root of *Arya*, meaning cultivation or to plough. This was discussed by Ragozine about a century ago.

In Santali *kisar* (or *kisan*) means rich; *kisar-har* means a rich man. It indirectly proves, he, who can cultivate, is rich, as kisan and kisar these two words are originally of the same root.

After knowing *Arya* to be a tribal word meaning a cultivator, it is necessary to imagine what the real name of the nomadic tribes was. Most probably, they called themselves as Bedia, Bede or Bedbin or Beduwin (in Arab) meaning a

man who has seen and known so many things. This word has come from the root-word *bid* or vide (fr. *videre,* E. *wit, witness* etc.) means to see or to know. The nomadic people had various types of occupations for having touch with the men of agrarian societies. One of the popular occupations was selling medicinal seed with disease-healing magic words which might be the main media to communicate with others. Today, we use the word *bede* in Bengali to mean nomads, but its actual meaning is a *scholar* or who has seen and known many things. Generally a disease-healing man or a medical practitioner is called as a scholar. *Ayurvedic* physician is known as *kaviraja* or the best scholar and a modern physician is known as a *doctor* meaning a scholar.

The interpretation of the word *Arya* with the help of tribal languages, inspires us to find out the main source of the Rigvedic Society. We can easily guess how Vedic society was born. We know Indian Culture is nothing but a conglomerated mass of atleast four distinct Linguistic groups, Chronologically they are, Austro-Asiatic or *Asuaras*, *Dravids* or Tamils, Tibeto-Chinese or *Bhot-China* and *nomadic-Bedias*, who have been known as *Arya*. Except the nomadic *Arya*, all of them had settled in life based on agriculture. The nomads entered among the settled life-holders without having any productive labour, but selling medicine and uttering magic words to Gods for healing diseases, sometimes invoking Gods even for others' good. In this way, a good number of nomadic men were placed permanently in the settled agrarian society growing out of the Austric group in which a good number of Dravid influences had already been placed. Rigvedic society grew out of such a society. Most of the Austric people were known as ASURAS as they were expert in smelting iron from Iron-ore. Even today, an Austro-Asiatic tribe, named ASURAS is very much known. They live in Chutiya Nagpur or Jharkhand belt, speak Asura language, have the occupation of smelting iron and making iron-instruments.

After a comparative study of the languages and culture, the present writer thinks that the *Karmali, Lohar* and *Asuras* have come from the same source and a little before, Santal, Munda, Ho and others. But when in the Puranas, the meaning of the word *Asura* became equated with evil spirit, as bad as Satan, they did not feel proud of the same. Except a small group all the *Asuras* changed their identity. Only the *Asuras* in the *Chutiya Nagpur* belt are directly connected with iron-smelting. In Rajasthan, *Garalia Asuras* or *Garalia Lohars* are roaming in their carts from village to village, with their crafts for iron-works. Outside India, they are known as *Zypsy-Smith*, a name given by the people of Europe as they took them to be of Egyptian origin. *Chapua Asuras* of Orissa prefer to be known as *Chapua Kamars* today.

Whatever may be the meaning of the word *Asura* in the *Puranas* the English word *'myth'* has come from Sanskrit *'mithya'* or untrue *mythical* means 'contrasted with factual history') in the *Rigveda* it has been used to mean *leader, God* etc. There is good number of slokas as

Twang rejendraye cha deva raksha
Nrin pahya pahyasura twamasman—1.174.1.

Oh, Indra, among all the Gods (in the world), you are the king (head). Save the human kind. Oh, Asura, you are the savior of us (translated with the help of R.C. Dutt's version)

Prastyamasura harshatang gorabishkridhi haraye suryaya—10.96.11. Oh, Asura (Indra), get the best place of the cows bright to the Sun, etc.

Indra, Sun, Som and other Gods have been invoked as Asura in the Rigveda. *Asura* is an original word, (root-word is *Asu* meaning life or *energy* vide. *gatasu* means *dead, gata+asu*; perhaps *asi* or *sword* is connected with it). *Sura* (God) has appeared as an antonym of the word *Asura*. According to Dr. Sukumar Sen, "the word *Asur* is an elementary

word, its first syllable has been mistaken to form an antonymous word and getting off the first syllable *a sura* has been formed due to meta-analysis." (Bhasar Itibritta).

In the first stage of that mixed, society, the Sun-God or the *Sing-bonga* of the Austric groups, was invoked mainly as the chief God but finally *Indra* became prominent. *Indra*, a name perhaps from the root-word *Indu* or moon appeared from the nomadic society. The moon was taken as the symbol of travelling or nomadic life. This history tells, how *Sing-bonga* or the Sun-God of the *Asuras* or the *Austric* people lost its prominence. Rigvedic culture, being based on an agrarian society, mainly from the Austric origin, came to be dominated by the *Purohit* or the *Priest* sub-group most of whom came from the nomads as they got the right of invoking Gods in their language at the time of healing diseases. At this, the pagan followers of the *Asura* group and Their priests left that mixed (later Rigvedic) society with their Sun-God or *Sing-bonga* and holy-fire (for smelting iron) for better shelter in Persia and other countries. But before that period *Asura-civilization* spread all over Asia, under the banner of the *Sun-God* or the *Sing-bonga*. Scholars think, the place-names of *Asia, Asia-Minor, Assyria, Seria, Asur-ban-Pal* etc. are very akin to Bankura's *Ban-Assuria,* and *Asur-hura or Asur Garh* by the Subarna Rekha river in the district of Singhbhum, having the pre-historic implements and scattered mounds of destroyed houses.

Somehow the followers of the *Asuras* migrating to Persia invoked *ASURAS* to be great as *Asurah Mahatah* or *Ahura-Mazda* meaning the *Asuras are great* and denounced the *Devah* or Daivs to be of evil spirit. The present writer thinks, long before, the *Davas (Sura)* were basically a tribe like the *Asuras* and their original name was *Bedia* (or Beduwin etc.) —a popular name of the nomads, though its original meaning was a *scholar*. *Deva* is the *metathesis form* of the word *Bede* or Bedia (*vede)*. In old Persian *Daib* means *Satan* or evil

spirit and in the Asura languages, like Santali, Mundari; *Daiv* means *accident* or ominous event In Bengali also, *daiba* means evil. We use *daivadurghatana* to mean accident. If it was not true poet Madhusudan would not have written then,'Prabase daiver bosse, jibotara jodi khose'—meaning, in any foreign land outside of my own country if I die due to any evil spirit (daiver bosse).

Perhaps in Indo-European Languages *devi* (Debala) *demon* (Debana), GK. *diabolus* (Deva balas) etc. are from the same root-word meaning evil spirit. Again in Santali *Ayur* means *leadership* and Ayuric' means a leader. These two words have come from the word *Asura* or *Ahura*. In Santali today *Bedia* means a spy, (Bhidia) or enemy a word which must have link with Bede or Bedia.

Thus with the help of the tribal languages and culture, specially of the *Austro-Asiatic* group, we can have a clear idea about the *Aryas* and their culture.

Value Oriented Education—a Harmonising Process

—Prof. Himangshu Bimal Majumdar

The need for value oriented Education :

India today is passing through a great crisis of character in almost all spheres of life. Never in our history has there been a greater need for value oriented education than today. Our emphasis on formal education and on cognitive learnings neglecting the affective domain and passing of examination for material and economic gains with little or no attention to value formation as an integral component of the educational process, is responsible for the present situation. The esential function of education for developing the integral man, by drawing out of best in him—body, mind and spirit, for living in a society free from all kinds of exploitation and injustice, has been lost sight of at all stages of education. Social living in an age which is marked by tremendous scientific and technological advancement, has resulted in an explosion of aspiration for achieving material goals. These in their turn have brought about a corresponding decline in and even erosion of human, moral, social, spiritual values. Material advancement has also resulted in value transformation promoting selfishness and indivisuasm in consequently bringing about competition, social distances, alienation, rivalries, tensions and conflicts. There are manifestations of violence of one form or the other.

Need for harmony between the exterior Self and inner self :

The present system of education has enabled man to control the external forces of nature and improve the conditions of his material existence to some extent, but inspite of these

spectacular scientific and technological achievements, man is not happy today. He is a victim of negative passions like hatred, racialism, violence and jealousy. Inspite of material prosperity that technology has given, there is a sense of frustration and insecurity creating oppressive situations leading to social deprivation and alienation of the masses from the classes.

It is politics which determines the pattern of Social life today. Indeed politics cannot be separated from life. But fundamentally the political problem is a problem of character. Man's character is the product of education that he receives in the institution and his interaction with the environment in which his education takes place. Both the institution and the environment are controlled and influenced by political forces and pressures. There is thus a need for sound political education for all which prepares an indivisual for living in a social order based on value system.

Then again, man who is the monarch of his external world is a slave of his inner world of emotions and passions. In the modern man, there seems to be no harmony between the outer life of his actions and inner life of emotion. This loss of harmony results in loss of character and consequent erosion of values in social, economic, religious and moral spheres of his life. The task of value oriented education is therefore, to bring about this harmony between exterior self and inner self and to keep it out of the clutches of active politics or so called politics.

Harmony of Science and Technology with Ahimsa or non-violence :

Swami Vivekananda wanted a Synthesis of sciences of the west and spirituality of the east. The Education Commission (1966) emphatically stressed the same approach while

defining the task of today's education "If science and *Ahimsa* join together in creative synthesis of belief and action, mankind will attain a new level of purposefulness, prosperity and spiritual insight." We have utterly failed to bring about this harmony of science and technology with *Ahimsa* or non-violence. It may be recalled that in non-violence lies the spirit of India, for there cannot be any non-violence without love for mankind. Some people may argue by saying that human nature is innately aggressive and therefore, non-violence is a myth. But is it not true that education offers a possibility of controlling aggressive behaviour through a process of sublimation by developing properly an inner regulatory mechanism so that irrespective of the theory regarding the innate versus the acquired nature of aggression, one can have some hope for mankind for survival ? In a value based system of education another task of significant importance is to generate love for mankind by bringing out synthesis between knowing, doing and feeling; by coordinating, integrating and harmonising the use of head, hand and heart. The story of our modern age is steeped in discord, conflict and fear. The power released by Science can destroy mankind unless human relationships are guided by spiritual, social and moral values. Science has given as power. but we need values of life, like love, compassion and regard for mankind in order to use that power for the welfare of self as well as of the human race.

The task of Education is to generate love :

It is increasingly being realised that mere intellectual power and productive capacity to produce wealth for the removal of poverty are not enough to promote social welfare. Centralization of knowledge as well as of material wealth leads to exploitation of masses and exploitation of any kind is violence and therefore inhuman. Our young people should not only know facts of life, or facts of science, or facts of culture and

develop individually into human resources, but at the same time get through education a strong desire and an urge to let others know. Education should develop in them an attitude of sharing knowledge and skill, an attitude of give and give with *Sraddha* wanting nothing in return. Our young people should inculcate *Sraddha*-regard for self as well as for the human race. Swamiji wants us to cultivate heart 'because through the heart the Lord speaks.,' that means develop *Ahimsa*, develop love. In Swamiji's words, 'Love opens the most impossible gate'. If that is achieved, there will be no violence. If education fails to help in the process of such a cultivation, that is no education. In order to cultivate love, we need not only to feel, but to act with feeling at the same time. The task of true education is to generate love for mankind—to develop the feeling life, to harmonise thought with action.

The issue of Ends and Means :

From the above discussion it would appear that there is a strong case for imparting value-oriented education. But there are a number of questions and issues, which confront us in this context. What is a value ? what are the most needed values which are to be inculcated today ? Which ones are urgent for all times ? Is there any timelessness in value formation ? What values are being replaced by new ones ? Can values be culture free true for all men and women, all societies and all times and at all stages of human development ? How can values be transmitted ? Why has there been a value crisis ? I do not propose to consider these issues seriatim, nor do I propose to present a detailed discussion on them in this paper. Even then let me take up the last question first – reasons for value crisis.

It seems that in the modern times education is concerned more with means and not so much with ends. It also appears that there is a dichotomy between the two. Although we tend to agree that education aims at drawing out the best in human child—his body, mind and spirit or at helping him in the process

of his self-realization through a process of integrated growth or in the process of manifestation of inner perfection, in actual practice it is cognitive development that receives our attention. We tend to keep in view narrow end—that is acquisition of knowledge. Knowledge is also considered as a means to a narrow concept of end, an end which is defined in terms of economic gains. Even if knowledge is considered as an end in education the process of acquiring it has not been considered important.

In the process of knowing, the learner has not been liberated as Tagore, Vivekananda and Sri Aurobindo wanted—knowledge is *given to him*. One can easily see an emphasis on knowledge as a goal, in terms of content, can lead to cramming as the method of learning and lecturing and dictation of notes as methods of instruction.

The relationship of acquisition of knowledge in educational institutions with passing an examination for gaining an economic power has been, according to me, a harmful development in modern times. Such an approach to education helps in the creation of a competitive social order.

In recent times two important, components, viz, Work experience or SUPW and social service have been introduced into school curriculum. These are indeed value based integrative activities quite in keeping with the educational ideas of Vivekananda and Gandhiji, but the way they are being implemented and practised by attaching hierarchy in importance to other curricular subjects, not only frustrates the ends for which they have been introduced in the curriculum, but also demonstrates our lack of concern for the values and even rejection of their inherent values by the school and the society in preference to scholastic subjects. This kind of negative attitude to these two important curricular areas will perpetuate an exploitative and competitive society, because one of the major goals

work education and productive work and social service was the development of sensitivity to social justice.

Gandhiji was concerned with developing an understanding of cooperation and dignity of labour as ends in themselves, not just as means alone. He was aware of the fact that now violent social order can be based only on cooperation and sharing and on the participation of all men in the productive process as end in itself, so that labour, particularly labour with one's own hands could be accepted as a value by itself. Both Gandhiji and Swamiji were emphatic about purity of ends and means. Swamiji said 'I have been always learning great lessons from that one principle, and it appears to me that all the secrets of success is there to pay as much attention to the means as to the ends'. In education also we need to pay equal attention to the product as well as to the process.

Values and their sources :

If we dig into the past, it will be realised that the pursuits of truth, beauty and goodness, has been our guiding principle of life down through the ages and values are embodied in our religions According to Tagore, a man of religion 'must exist for Man the Great and must express him in disinterested works, in Science and Philosophy, in literature and art, in Science and worship.' To him religion consists in the endeavour of men to cultivate and express those qualities which are inherent in the nature of Man, the Eternal and to have faith in him. Truth, freedom and beauty are the qualities of the Eternal Man.

To Gandhi Truth and God are the same concepts and Vivekananda saw the Divine in man. According to Froebel, 'human nature, like the Spirit of God, is even unfolding its inner essence.' The questions which express this inner essence have been regarded all through history as trinity— 'truth, beauty and goodness; knowlege, love and service; or in the words of

Whitehead, 'activity of thought, receptiveness to beauty, humane feeling. Human thought has never regarded this trinity of ideals as separate and unrelated gods. It sees then as elements of harmony. Wholeness of living unites truth, beauty and goodness in symphony.

Philosophically considered, what all these great thinkers appear to point out is the need to emphasize the universal values and similar characteristics of all religions for the sake of the unity of all humanity—a supreme concept for value-oriented education, particularly in an age which is marked by tensions, conflicts, intolerance and lack of understanding—forces which separate man from man.

Values may be conceived and defined by different theories, different notions in different ways. To avoid a conflict in perception we in India can adopt a practical approach. For all practical purposes the sources of values for us can be traced in the Preamble of our Constitution which ensures Social, Economic and Political justice, *liberty* of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship ; *equality* of status and opportunity, *fraternity* assuring the dignity of individual and the unity of the nation. Thus on the basis of these fundamental rights, we can identify our national values as *d mocracy, secularism* and *socialism.* Education for citizenship,' in India should be concerned with the clarification of our thinking about these values and strengthening of our faith and practices with regard to these ideals as a way of life and living. A careful and close scrutiny of these concepts will lead us to discover that these *basic national values* are founded on the bedrock of *'love'* for mankind.

Gandhiji also gave us a set of values which he practised in his own life and he was of the firm conviction that these values if inculcated in our young people through proper education and practice in daily living, would help them experience the unity of the individual self with the universal

self, which is the ultimate goal of value formation. These values, viz, truth, non-violence, love for mankind, equality of mankind, fearlessness, freedom, democracy, self-help, respect for all religions, honesty, truthfulness, self-discipline, self restraint, cleanliness of body and mind, unity of thought and action, form a firm ethical and spiritual base for living a 'Good' life. These values are not only consistent with our own cultural heritage, but are also of pragmatic importance for solution of our diversified contemporary problems of life in our homes and society.

Swami Vivekananda also wanted, 'life-building, man-making, character-making' assimilation of ideas'. He said, 'if you have assimilated five ideas and made them your life and character, you have more education than any man who has got by heart a whole library...........the end of education in man-making'. Obviously, Swamiji emphasizes the need for personalization of values which direct the overt behaviour in personal and social living. To him the very essence of education is concentration of mind, not collection of facts. 'If I had to do my education once again, I would not study facts at all', said Swamiji. Thus the entire superstructure of Swamiji's man-making education is based on values and love for mankind, is at the hard core of these values. For him and his Master Shree Ramkrishna, Man and God are not separate entities.

How to impart Education for Values :

How can education for values be imparted ? There are many issues in connection with this question.

Can an examination-ridden curriculum give these values ? What basic changes in the curriculum and the processes of teaching and learning as well as the organization of institutions are needed for value formation ? Is a social regeneration a pre-requisite for transmission of values ? Do we have the teachers to impart value-education ? For imparting man-making

education Swamiji wanted a kind of teachers—teachers who must not teach with any ulterior selfish motive, for money, name or fame. To Rabindranath, Sri Aurobindo and Gandhi, an institution should be organised on Ashramic traditions where the 'very act of living together educates'. Gandhiji's concept of a school is a democratic, cooperative and selfreliant society—an epitome of the social order which education has to build. In our present age where teaching is no longer a mission, but a profession and when we are concerned with education for the masses and when there is so much of conflict in social ideologies, is it possible to have teachers and institutions that their great thinkers wanted ?

We must have to find out solutions to these problems and find a realistic approach to value formation. In value education the major responsibility lies with parents and teachers. Even then the whole society must have to cooperate in the process. Values cannot be taught through formal or direct teaching alone. They can be inculcated only when the school provides for activities and experience inside and outside the class room which promote responsibility cooperation, honesty, fairplay, self control and other values. Activities bringing about close cooperation between school, home and community will go a long way to impart value oriented education which mere bookish approach cannot give. Education for values has to be based on the idea of supremacy, of reasoning over anything else and not on dogmatic and unintelligent conformity. Students should, therefore, go through the process of reasoning and develop competence in reasoning out solutions to life's problems. So long as man is guided by impulses rather than reasonings, man is likely to be self centred and exploitative.

Conclusion :

In this paper, I have raised a number of questions and issues and have not ventured to suggest concrete and practical solution. This is not an easy task. We need to build the

concept of man—man as an individual, as a family member, as a man of the world society, man of twentieth century and the century that is ushering in, in terms of the values which he will cherish. Instead of cherishing so called middle class and elite forming values, or values which sustain neo-elitism, let us make a sincere endeavour to inculcate through education those values which bring us closer to the under-privileged, deprived and alienated masses so that we derive strength to work for them. Let us take the challenge of value forming education even with the framework of the present curriculum and unfavourable socio-political environment in which the school system works.

National Integration in Historical Perspective : A Cultural Regeneration in Eastern India*

—Dr. Binod Sankar Das

The myth of cultural disunity and political diversity of India was harped by the British imperialist writers which assumed a menacing dimension within a period of thirty years after independence of India from the foreign yoke. Despite her stunted capitalist development, India today is on the verge of socio-political disintegration since her numerous ethnic groups, each with its glorious heritage, are on the breaking point due to its asymmetrical economic development and regional imbalance. It is high time that our research scholars should direct their attention to discover the essential cultural unity in the Indian way of life under the historical perspective. The object of study is to explore the trends of unity binding eastern India since geographical location and ethnic settlements evolved the unity in wet paddy cultivation and bamboo based industry bringing uniformity in the way of life of the people, in their value system and supplying uniformity in the evolution of socio-economic institutions from a long glorious past. Again changes and continuity in agrarian life, in surplus value of labour leading to surplus exchange brought homogeneity in trade and commerce. With this object in view the study was undertaken within the time-frame of the tenth through the sixteenth centuries, viz, within the time-frame of five hundred years.

---

* I am indebted to Dr. R. N. Chakravorty, for data collection from whose thesis, I have extensively drawn my conclusions.

I

The author in this paper proposes the basic question : was there any fundamental unity in the socio-cultural life of Bengal and Orissa from the tenth to the sixteenth centuries ? There was a wide diversity in dynasties, administrative units, language and dialects, customs, life style and religious value system in eastern India. Out of this diversity, geographical location and ethnic homogeneity had brought in socio-cultural unity to the people of eastern India. Despite this undercurrent flow of cultural unity because of internecine warfare among the successive rulers, feudalisation of the economy and militarisation of civil offices, the political diversity cropped up and brought about disintegrating forces in the political institutions culminating in the collapse of the martial spirit of the people and end of the oceanic trade. The result was the Muslim conquest of eastern India without any strong military resistance. But why this military defeat despite its past glory of military adventure and maritime ascendancy, despite its abundant raw resources and a big idle population with an annual spiral growth rate ? The questions, is it something inherent in the bio-physical environment and life style of the people, ingrained in its tropical climate and food habits or was it caused by the inevitable decline in socio-economic institutions and value system, wait for their solutions.

The answer to this probing on the causes of the decline of socio-economic institutions of Bengal-Orissa could be found in two models. One, that the British rule was responsible for the colonial exploitation of the people of Bengal and Orissa and two, the other model tend to define the economic backwardness of eastern region in terms of a continuous process of degeneration starting from the decline of the imperial Ganga and the Sena dynasties in the thirteenth century. To the author this analytical model seemed necessary for the present day crisis in the agrarian economy leading to regional imbalance and stunted growth of industrial developments in eastern India which made the present day political disharmony a fact of life. In this

paper attempts would be made to explore the cultural homogeneity of the people in eastern India which coloured her way of life.

II

The geographical location of eastern India made her the terminating point of the Mahanadi-Ganga-Brahmaputra and numerous other streams and susceptible to climatic depressions during the rainy and autumn seasons. The existence of the Himalayas in the north as a colossal father-figure, its vast expansion of river valleys making possible water management necessary for deep wet paddy cultivation and its broken, long coast line making possible the coastal trade, helped to mould her cultural heritage with a strong agrarian base and made possible the emergence of isolated clusters of tiny village kingdoms with strong sense of individuality which could not be broken by the Vedic culture. On the backdrop of the solid base of the isolated, tiny kingdoms with wet paddy cultivation and jute, bamboo based industries the early Christian era witnessed the expansion of coastal trade and riverian inland commerce in eastern India since the north Indian trade routes along the riverian route of the Ganga-Mahanadi and Brahmaputra were terminating with the coastal ports of the Che-li-ta-lo, Polur, Tamralipta and later on of Saptagram. The contempt about the ferocity and cultural independence and migratory tendency of the people finds expression in the Vedic and the Jaina literature. Thus the Jaina and Ajivika Sramanas and Vikkus could never entrench themselves in this region. But it was Ashoka Maurya who ruthlessly broke down this socio-economic isolation and tagged her destiny with the north Indian socio-economic developments.

Any discussion on the unity in religious-cultural life of eastern India even within the time-frame of tenth to sixteenth centuries would start with the religious beliefs and rituals which originated in the pre-historic period and in course of time influenced the course of invading currents of religious beliefs

and rituals from outside through different phases of history. The fundamental difference between the pre-historic religion and the invading Aryan belief system was that the pre-historic rituals were worship based (Brata) where women played a dominant role with folk art forming an inseparable part. While the Indo-Aryan religion was mainly hymnbased fire worship (Jagna) where butter oil was offered to the Firegod by the dominant priest class on behalf of the community of devotees.

The worship of mother cults of the nomadic inhabitants of the region centered round all seasons of the cultivation process starting from gestation and seedling of crops and climaxing with the harvesting season of the agrarian community indicating thereby the role of religion as a catalyst for transforming a food gathering nomadic community to a settled food producing people. Thus its folk religion was not temple based institution dominated by the Brahmans or a priest class enjoying the topmost position in the Varna hierarchy. The folk cults were invariably dominating deities of tools of production connected with the villege cultivation process and artisans crafts and each deity was the protecting power of a particular unit of production in villages reflected in the village Deothan under the shade of a banyan or a bel tree. But the deities were invariably worshipped along with their carriers (Vahan) either birds or animals. But side by side anthropomorphism was also a dominating force in their religious value system since the hill tops, trees and large block of stones were worshipped as protecting deities of a particular community of cultivators in a particular village. But the worships associated with singing, dancing, partaking of common food from common kitchen and magical hymn chanting could continue for days together as passion and miracle plays and colourful processions to allure the piety of the whole community under the garb of holy get-together for attaining a never attainable utopia.

'Jatra' or processions to allure popular participation through charm, magic and continuous festivities were absorbed

into the religious cross-currents invading from outside. But Brata led by the fasting women, rituals connected with folk art, singing and dancing were dominated not by the priest class but by the women folk. This phenomenon illustrates the remnants of a matriarchal pastoral society gradually absorbing the dawn of agricultural mechanism ensuring male domination and priest superiority in the Varna hierarchy. In course of time a happy balance was maintained within the role conflict between women folk in ritual singing and the priest class for hymn chanting rituals. The origin of the Hindu religious pantheon, magic and rituals, invariably centered round the mother cult for protecting the cycle of birth and death and to win over the inescapable phenomenon of death.

The worship of the fertility cult was invariably associated with the germinating and harvesting seasons of nature and the idea of conjunction of male and female power, the elements of Purusa and Shakti in nature to keep the cycle of gestation going, gained ground. Behind the magic and miracle plays the discovery of the truth of creation through the unitary process of conjunction of male and female power of an unperceivable god gave way to the first dawn of a philosophical idea of the primitive folk, a religious belief system discovered through the endless cycle of birth and death, seedling, germination and harvesting. This manifestation of a supreme power combining female and male roles into one to keep the cycle of creation going as a continuous process was ultimately absorbed into the successive folk-Tantric, Buddhist and Vaisnava religious thought processes. Despite continuous process of transformation these phenomena of female role in the folk brata rituals, domination of the idea of male-female conjunction to attain the final bliss and the discovery of a continuous life cycle through birth and death, gestation and harvesting in nature and the superiority of certain sound symbols to realise the glory of the Almighty in a rather soundless universe dominated the successive religious value system of

the period and gave rather a unitary character to diverse currents and cross-currents of religion, art forms and literature in eastern India. Thus it would be wrong to compartmentalise the different manifestations of a dynamic culture of the community within the time frame of this study expressing through the societal changes with the changing mode of production and production relation in the social hierarchy.

III

With the decline of the later Guptas small political units emerged in eastern India and each unit worshipped the Hindu cults as a mark of their reassertion to the Hindu faith and from the Seventh century onwards there continued the regrouping of powers. In Bengal, Sasanka, a lone figure, a devotee of the Saiva cult had to fight with the Sailodbhabas of Orissa, initially a Saivite dynasty, for territorial expansion towards the west. And initially Siva was the dominating deity of agricultural operation, learned in the knowledge of life cycle in nature starting with gestation and seedling and ending with harvesting of agriculture. He was the ruling deity of a settled kingdom of the nomadic pastoral community. Ultimately the Pala supremacy led to the tripartite struggle in the rice producing Ganga-Mahanadi valley marking the impact of resurgent Buddhism in the socio-political life while the rise of the Ganga imperialism in Orissa gave political cohesion to that state signalled by the emergence of the cult of Jagannath as Rastra Devata. After the decline of the Pala dynasty the Senas from the Karnatak became sovereigns in Bengal while the Gajapati Chiefs from Andhra held sway in Orissa and the two empires in turn came into military conflict with each other leading to socio-political readjustments. In Bihar the Karnatak rulers starting with Nanyadeva claimed[n] descent from Karnatak and patronised Saivism and revival of Hinduism. Karnatak, according to folk myth, became the store house of the Kshatriyas and after the Muslim invasion Rajput myth came into

sway in this region to replace the Karnatak myth to trace the origin of the royal houses.

These political changes in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in the shape of rise and decline of dynasties synchronised with the spectacular social and economic changes in the shape of enhancement of agricultural productivity by reclaiming virgin soil and prosperity in the inland and coastal trade ultimately influenced the dynamics of changes in the religious value system and ritual practices. As an answer to the possible growth of population in the wake of expansion of economic activities and to the political aggrandisement of the rulers and caste rigidity in the society, flourishing trade and commerce acted as a social safety valve till the eighth century AD. But between the tenth and the sixteenth centuries this social safety valve for releasing the surplus agrarian produce and population, languished and the contact with the outside world seems to have been snapped. Thus the Pala-Sailodbhaba period marks climax of eastern India's contact with the outside world leading to migration of values and population from Orissa and Bengal to the far eastern countries in Asia. After that the process was altogether stopped.

This decline in trade and commerce ultimately led to the increased emphasis on agriculture as the only means of production as well as petty commodity production in village level industries mainly used by the elites and temple clergies in the society became another alternative occupation. The rise of regional political groups heralded the expansion of territories through military adventures. The emergence of Bhaumakara and Somavamsi imperialism in Orissa and later on of the Palas in Bengal led to the ascendency of a military-feudal hierarchy in the agrarian society. A corollary to expansionism was sub-infeudation of landed property, militarisation of civil offices and feudalisation of the administrative machinery. Under the stress of Pala-Ganga-Pratihara imperialism local political units

succumbed. This sub-infeudation of political hierarchy led to the splitting of castes and classes into innumerable pressure groups as a challenge to the Brahmanical and Kshatriya ascendancy. There was also the upward mobility of the lower stratum as each dominating group claimed Brahman and Kshatriya castes for itself resulting in splitting of numerous sub-caste groups, each claiming higher status on the basis of newly acquired landed estates with the extension of the area for rice cultivation and bamboo-jute based artisan crafts.

Moreover, decline of trade and commerce and feudalisation of land tenure system led to the process of migration of population as a socio-economic safety valve towards the migrating zones at the periphery of the Pala-Ganga empire of Bengal-Bihar-Orissa towards the uncultivated forest tracts (Atavika countries mentioned in Harisena Prashasti of Samudra Gupta) and Chattisgarh division. The period witnessed the twin process of peasantisation of the tribals and the Hinduization of the aboriginals leading to the state formation in the periphery of the Hindu empire of Bengal-Orissa and extension of the area of rice cultivation, salt manufacture and bamboo-jute based crafts in the Ganga-Mahanadi-Brahmaputra valley as the only means of commercial agriculture The sub-castes of the Raju and Khandait communities as new landed aristocracy now claimed Kshatriyahood and the Brahmans as their *Kulapurohits* spun successively the so-called Karnata and Rajput myths to award them solar-lunar Karnatak and Rajput lineage to legitimise the new regrouping of powers. This upward social mobility and the new sanctification of the Sudra stratum against the Brahmanical caste rigidity could be found in the emergence of the cult of Jagannath where the Sabara Daitapatis became the neo-Brahmans. There are also instances to show that the tribal goddesses in the forest tracts in between Bengal and Bihar became Hinduised mother goddess of creation and protection and the new landed aristocracy, the so-called Rajput Kshatriyas, the Singhs and the Majhis, turned to be the greatest devotees of the popular cults.

These types of socio-political changes affected religious institutions and ideas which mirrored socio-political changes. The value system of religious institutions acted as the catalytic agent to the dynamics of changes in the vehicles of expression, i.e., changes in the language structure and changes in the mirrors of expression, i e., literature coloured with religious overtones which are obviously natural in the middle ages. Changes in language and emergence of indigenous literature had their reflection in the emergence of new cults and ritual practices since the beginning of Jainism and Buddhism.

Bureaucratic Culture in Orissa

(A Study based on Official Documents)

—Rama Chandra Mishra

Scope of the Study :

This article is based upon limited but important documents. It raises many questions and not all of them have been answered. So this article should be regarded as a prelude to a more searching analysis rather than as a full-fledged study.

This study is based on the circulars and orders issued by the Departments of Revenue, Excise and Prohibition of the Government of Orissa during the period 1971 to 1979. A more comprehensive study would go into other official documents as well, like evaluation studies and audit reports, and would cover other Departments of the Government besides those listed above. It would also collect information from other sources like books, journals, newspapers and interviews with officials, political leaders and journalists. In this sense the present study is very limited in character but that does not do away with its significance since it draws upon a very important and reliable source of information.

Thematically a comprehensive work on this topic would cover many important areas which this article does not tread. The official documents discuss only those aspects which the Government consider important and the scope of our article is limited on this count since we have not gone beyond these documents.

The bureaucracy referred to in this study form the core of the district administration in Orissa—The District Collector and his staff, the Sub-Divisional Officer and his staff, the Tahsildar and his staff and other important officers and their subordinates.

Nature of the Orissa Bureaucracy :

Before going on to a detalied discussion we must briefly sum up our main findings. Our study of the circulars and orders of the above three Departments of the Government of Orissa lead us to the following generalisations about the Orissa bureaucracy—

1. The bureaucracy does not sincerely implement the programmes and policies of the Government.
2. Sometimes it acts contrary to the known policies, rules and procedures laid down by the Government.
3. Apathy and delay appear to be universal features of this bureaucracy.
4. It is incompetent. Bungling is widespread. It takes too much time for doing even simple things and does them badly. As a result the Government has to pay heavy compensations to the aggrieved persons and its programmes are delayed or even frustrated.
5. It shows no desire to act as a dynamic instrument of social change. On the contrary, it shows scant concern for public interest and public sentiment. Its irresponsible conduct leads to wastage of public money.
6. Corruption and indiscipline appear to be widespread in this bureaucracy.
7. The bureaucrats are apathetic towards the needs and desires of the public as well as of their immediate colleagues.
8. Even the people from upper classes like the industrialists are apparently a victim of its apathy, delay and bungling.

But really the upper classes have more to gain than to loose from the waywardness of the bureaucrats because while they can afford to grease the palm at appropriate places and get their work done, people with little money will be totally helpless in the face of the uncooperative bureaucracy.

9. It discriminates against the deprived sections of the society like the landless labourers, tribals and harijans.

10. It pays little heed to the repeated instructions of the Government to mend its ways. It persists in its irregularities, malfunctioning and bungling in spite of categorical injunctions and even threats of disciplinary action from the Government.

Now let us discuss in detail how the bureaucracy behaves in various situations.

Supervision :

The superior officers are expected to supervise the performance of their subordinate staff. But it appears from the circulars of the Government that they don't take this responsibility seriously. The Government notes that despite specific instructions in this regard there have been considerable shortfalls and lapses in overseeing the performance of the subordinate officers and to impart instructions and guidelines to increase work efficiency. The Government also observes that irregularity and delay is rampant in release of inspection notes by senior officers in regard to subordinate officers and compliance report of action thereon within the time schedule by concerned subordinates.[1] So the Government in utter exasperation, orders that the Heads of Offices and Heads of Departments are not to draw their pay for the month of April unless they furnish review reports to the prescribed authorities.[2]

Recruitment[3]

The Government notes with dismay the gross irregularities committed by higher officers in recruitment of subordinate staff. For example the minimum educational qualification is not ensured in recruitment of clerks. The minimum academic qualification for a Lower Division Clerk in the district and subordinate offices has been fixed to be a pass in the Matriculation examination or its equivalent examination. Recruitment is required to be done by the Revenue Divisional Commissioner through qualifying tests. So in 1955 the Government was surprised to find that a large number of non-matriculates were working as clerks in the above offices. It was not possible to retrench them since there were too many of them. So the Government issued instructions to appropriate officers for regularising their appointments as far as practicable and to see to it that recruitment of unqualified persons was discontinued. But in 1963 the Government noticed that irregular appointments were still continuing. So it framed "The Orissa Ministerial Services Rules,1963" to plug the loopholes. However,it decided not to terminate the services of those who had already been appointed. This decision was again communicated to the higher officials in 1973 since they had not shown promptness in implementing it properly.

Transfer[4] :

The Government finds that there is unnecessary delay in movement of transferred officials to their new stations of posting thereby causing dislocation in the entire chain of transfers. Inspite of standing rules and specific instructions from time to time officials apply for leave on various grounds after receipt of transfer orders and sometimes even after relief from their previous posts. Sometimes an officer who fails to get a posting of his choice in the Revenue Department tries to get a deputation to another Department for such a posting.

Superannuation[5] :

The Government has determined that all its employees are to be retired from service from due date of superannuation and no extension should be allowed except in case of technical personnel under certain conditions and circulars to this effect has been issued. But the Government finds that a large number of non-gazetted employees have been allowed extension without consultation with higher authorities and proposals for regularisation are being sent much later. In some cases officials continue in service after due date of superannuation due to lack of proper check on the part of appropriate authorities.

Payment of Dues to Government Servants[6]

The Government has issued instructions from time to time emphasizing the need for timely payment of the dues of the Government servants and has delegated powers to the Heads of Offices and Heads of Departments to carry out necessary investigation and settle such claims expeditiously. But the Government finds that the delegated powers are not being fully utilised as a result of which a large number of claims are sent to the Government. The Government feels that unless drastic steps are taken and suitable punishment is awarded to persons for whose negligence the dues of the Government servants remain unpaid, there is no likelihood of any improvement in the situation. Accordingly it has passed the order that disciplinary proceedings should be drawn up against those who are held responsible for negligence or avoidable delay in the processing and disposal of arrear claims of Government servants in a number of cases.

Wastage of time and Public Money[7] :

The Government had instructed field officers not to waste their time in receiving dignitaries and asked them instead to

attend to their duties. It also asked them not to use Government vehicles for visitors since this would increase non-developmental expenditure. But the Government found to its dismay that the officers were defaulting on both these counts.

Criminal Offences and Indiscipline[8] :

The Government has not been able to take action against officials charged with criminal offences and other misconduct due to the sheer number of the officials involved. In 1976 it was found that a large number of Government servants were under suspension for years, pending institution of criminal cases or their disposal by courts, as well as disposal of disciplinary proceedings. Administrative work of the Government suffered due to the absence of these numerous suspended officials. So the Government relaxed the rules and passed order for reinstatement of the officials facing various charges. It was left to the discretion of appropriate administrative authorities to decide, on the basis of the gravity of the charges, whether an official should be suspended.

Redressal of Public Grievances[9]

The Government had time and again instructed the District Collectors not only to guard against harassment to the citizens but to ensure that they behave cordially and the receipt of their representations is acknowledged and their grievances expeditiously redressed. The Collectors were instructed to send monthly reports to the Government showing their performance in this field. But since they did not care to send any report regarding their performance the Government was at a loss to know as to how far its instructions were being carried.

Lease to Industrial Enterpreneurs[10] :

In spite of the Government's instruction that the applications of industrial entrepreneurs for lease of land should be expeditiously dealt with it is found that applications lie with

Tehsildars for months and even years without suitable investigation being carried out, not to speak of taking action. The Government feels that such delays frustrate its drive for industrialisation in the State and has expressed the desire that the guilty officials should be firmly dealt with.

Collection and Recovery of Government Dues[11] :

The Government is perturbed about the gross improprieties in the matter of collection and recovery of its dues. The concerned officials make demands while dues have already been paid in certificate cases earlier. Demands in respect of land are made even when the land has been submerged under irrigation projects or when land has partitioned either through sale, acquisition proceedings and ceiling laws.

Unauthorised Occupation of Land[12] :

The Government observes that it has become a habit with officials of different Departments to occupy Government, communal and private lands according to their choice without following the correct procedure. This is done in the name of expediting development works. This habit did not decrease inspite of a circular issued in July, 1970. This resulted in unplanned occupation of land and improper use. The Departments concerned did not bother to regularise such possessions afterwards. The Government feels that it is time that any officer of any Department who occupies any land without orders of the competent revenue authority is pulled up for indisciplined conduct. The Government is all the more worried because in many cases such acts are committed by the lowest authority in the field even without the knowledge of the district authorities.

Land Acquisition for Government Projects[13] :

The Government feels that the requisitions for the acquisition of land are not being correctly and timely prepared by the

Requiring Officers to cover lands actually needed for a project. After initiation of the land acquisition proceedings and even at the time of taking possession of the land according to the requisition, it is reported that the lands requisitioned by the Requiring Officer are quite different from the lands needed for the execution of the project. Such cases are almost common in respect of irrigation projects where it is seen that the requisition for acquisition of land given by the Requiring Officer relates to some other lands whereas actual alignment of the project runs over different lands thereby necessitating submission of revised requisition for initiation of the land acquisition proceedings afresh after a great length of time. Sometimes the whole process takes 15 years or even more. As a result of this the labour and the time spent for processing the land acquisition proceedings become infructuous. The Government has also to pay heavy compensations to the landowners due to delay.

The Government notes that lack of proper processing of land acquisition cases referred to in the Courts, non-production of material evidence, both oral and documentary, in the Courts and for lack of expert handling of cases, has resulted in serious and avoidable pecuniary loss to the Government exchequer. It also observes that complaints of collusion between the officials handling such cases and the persons standing to gain from such transactions has been reported in the press. The Government analysed the circumstances leading to improper handling of land acquisition awards referred to the Courts and found that the defects were mainly due to the following reasons :

a) Inadequate enquiry into the market value of the land under acquisition;

b) Non-specification of the terms of reference to the Court;

c) Non-issue of timely notices to the concerned Department or Organisation about the reference made to the Court;

d) Non-production of material evidence and inadequate presentation of facts as well as legal points before the Court of Reference ; and

e) Failure to take timely steps to file appeals against adverse decrees, if any, passed by the Court of Reference.

Welfare of Landless, Tribals and Harijans[14] :

The Government notes that persons having various profitable means of livelihood other than agriculture are being allowed to take advantage of the substantial concessions meant for the really landless persons and that the claims of many persons belonging to the weaker sections of the community are being ignored. The Government feels that the District Collectors should take strong deterrent action in case of infringement of any of its orders in this regard by any Field Officer.

The Government also finds that in some cases of encroachment of Government lands by the landless persons mostly belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, heavy penalty and fines have been imposed and certificate cases have been started for realisation of these amounts. A number of such instances were found in Keonjhar, Sundergarh and Mayurbhanj districts and the Government feels that such instances might be there in other districts also.

The Government has passed instructions to the effect that the transfer of land from an Adivasi to a non-Adivasi requires the sanction of the Sub-Divisional Officer in order that such transfer becomes legal and valid. The intention is that the tribals won't be cheated of their land at throw-away prices or otherwise. But the Government finds that the Sub-Divisional

Officers treat requests for permission very liberally in complete disregard of the interests of the tribals.

The Government is unhappy to note that in spite of issue of repeated instructions the problems relating to unauthorised occupation of lands belonging to the members of the Scheduled Tribes by non-Scheduled Tribe persons are on the increase which has resulted in discontent among the members of the Scheduled Tribes who on account of their general ignorance have found themselves in helpless condition.

The Government also notes that large chunks of Government land, suitable for agriculture are lying fallow or are being encroached upon by people with profitable means of livelihood. This is happening due to lack of timely action at the ground level to settle such lands on eligible landless persons.

Conclusions :

Are we to conclude, from the above description of the conduct of the Orissa bureaucracy that the Government is well-meaning and sincere but the errant bureaucracy is frustrating its efforts at every step ? Such a conclusion is hardly warranted since it is difficult to believe for the following reasons that the Government seriously intended to stem the rot in the officialdom —

a) Although the Government, time and again threatened the officials with disciplinary action for breach of instructions there is no evidence to suggest that it really meant to do so and in fact, hardly ever did so. A genuine desire for firm action would have led to actual prosecution of the guilty officials.

b) Apart from the apparent concern and pious wishes expressed in the circulars and orders the Government rarely ever expressed the desire to bring about a

change in the behaviour of the bureaucracy. Had such a desire been expressed through the press, public meetings and the official media a tremendous public opinion might have been created and this would have acted as a powerful pressure on the Cureaucracy to mend its ways. Even if no such outcome were to follow, such a campaign would have been a genuine proof of the sincerity of the Government's protestations.

c) In spite of all the threats the bureaucracy continued to function in its old way in total defiance of the apparent displeasure of the Government. This defiance and non-chalance could not take such a widespread and consistent form if the Government had sincerely and firmly tried to take disciplinary action.

For all these reasons it cannot be plausibly argued that the Government and bureaucracy were at cross purposes with each other. It might be that the Government was not happy about many things the bureaucracy did or failed to do or the way they were done and perhaps the bureaucracy was also not happy about the functioning of the Government on many counts. But by and large they had agreed to stand by each other and work together in spite of their apparent mutual hostility. There was no indication of any irreconcilable and uncompromising conflict between them.

It is also not true that the bureaucracy in Orissa is apathetic as such. Under certain circumstances it has shown great dynamism. For example the anti-trader mass movement in Western Orissa in 1980 was promptly and ruthlessly put down by the same bureaucracy which otherwise appears to be so listless. Such instances can be multiplied without number, but they won't be discussed here for reasons of space. Orissa has not seen any largescale statewide movement in recent times but struggles of peasants, workers, students, teachers and Government employees themselves have been going on in different

places and even a cursory glance would reveal that there is nothing like the bureaucracy in cunningness and ruthlessness when it comes to suppressing people's movements.

It may be argued that the bureaucracy behaved the way it did because of lack of good salary and adequate training. But these things cannot be said of the District Collectors who are both reasonably well paid and provided with other amenities and have received the best available training in the country. Yet, the District Collectors proved to be no better than other officials.

It may also be argued that the bureaucracy looked proper political guidance by a dynamic and wellmeaning Government and that, on the contrary, the officials who showed sincerity, dedication and integrity vis-a-vis wayward subordinates and corrupt politicians were severely harassed and this discouraged wellmeaning bureaucrats. It may also be argued that both the bureaucracy and the Government do not intend to fulfil their declared objective of looking after the interests of all the sections of the people and especially of the poor people and are really serving the dominant classes who can get their work done through their superior economic position while the poor people who have no money to bribe with or to finance political organisations are left high and dry. On the face of it there is much truth in this argument and they need to be further researched upon.

Reference :

1. A Compilation of Circulars and Orders, 1971-1979, Revenue, Excise and Prohibition Departments, Government of Orissa, (unpublished), p. 6, 12.
2. Ibid., P. 62
3. Ibid., P. 38-39
4. Ibid., P. 48-49,61

5. Ibid., P. 60
6. Ibid., P. 71
7. Ibid., P. 19
8. Ibid., P. 52-53
9. Ibid., P. 56
10. Ibid., P. 165
11. Ibid., P. 85
12. Ibid., P. 118, 216
13. Ibid., P. 201, 212, 216-17, 441, 444
14. Ibid., P. 99, 127, 131. 136, 177, 186

The Culture of Science and Technology in Developing India

—Santosh Kumar Rath

Science and technology after three centuries of exponential growth have been recognised as a major force for social development and social change. They act as catalytic agents in the process of modernisation of any given society or nation. Science and Technology together inject into a society a certain world-view : a world view which implies that nature can be understood and scientific knowledge can be used for bringing material progress to society. Science was born as a specific activity in the process of man-nature interaction in the pre-historic days. Since then Science as a social institution and as a system of knowledge has undergone profound qualitative and quantitative change. These changes have occurred as a response to new socio-economic demands. The nature of work in science has changed significantly. A Scientist, today is no more a lone wolf working with his tools and engaged in research and discoveries in isolation. Since war years Science has come out from the private domain of a laboratory to become a social activity with increasing demands and compulsions of time. Big science or organised science has become the order of the day. For funds for laboratory and equipment, for journals and stationery now scientists have to depend on Government or private sponsors. With this, Science and Technology no more remain mere branches of knowledge which are pursued for the sake of knowledge. Science and society have developed a symbiotic relationship between themselves.

In this paper, an attempt will be made to analyse the role of science and technology in the process of development in India

after independence. How faulty Government policies and lack of sincerity among bureaucrats and scientific managers have contributed to the present state of science in our society. The gaps between the professed goal and our achievements are ever widening. As a result our science and technology have failed to act as instrument for social change to the expected levels of our planners and political leaders. A brief discussion on our science policy, vis-a-vis our objectives and the implementation processes will be taken up in this paper.

Realising the vital role of science and technology, the Government of independent India gave pre-eminence to them in their scheme of things. After independence scientific activities in India made a major breakthrough. Science education and research received special consideration. An extensive institutional network, a chain of laboratories, under C.S.I.R. on the lines of former British Department of Scientific and Industrial Research were organised. A rapid expansion of University and technical education was undertaken. Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Primei Mnister was the main architect of the scientific edifice in modern India. In his romantic eloquence he described the national laboratories as the new temples of modern India. With his guidance and initiative the Scientific Policy Resolution was moved in Parliament in the year 1958. Now, we have a Technological Policy Resolution adopted by the Indian Parliament in 1983. These Resolutions are charters and guidelines in the pursuit of our science and technology for social development and social change.

Under the stewardship of Nehru, and with the advice of eminent men of science like Homi Bhabha, Santi Swarup Bhatnagar, Mahalanobis, Hussain Zahir and others, democratic India decided to build an infrastructure of Science on western lines.

As a result of this several research agencies under the Central Government like, I.C.A.R., C.S.I.R., I.C.M.R., Atomic Energy,

Space, Electronics and Meterological departments were set up. Several Survey institutes such as G.S.I., Survey of India, Zoological, Botanical, and Anthropological Survey of India were established. We have five I.I.Ts, more than 900 research institutes including over 100 universities and several industrial laboratories and in-house testing laboratories.

Government Support for science has continued to be liberal, irrespective of the stresses and strains in our national life. The total expenditure on research and development in 1982-83 is 990.53 crores including Central Government, State Governments and private investments.[1] The expenditure in 1950 was only 27 crores. Government of India had consistently laid emphasis on the development of science and technology to achieve self-reliance.

In 1975, an attempt was made to weave science and technology into economic planning by framing a science and technology plan under the guidance of the National Committee on Science and Technology. This committee was established in 1971 to undertake science and technology planning. A cabinet committee on Science and Technology was also formed in 1981, headed by the Prime Minister to review the overall progress of science and technology programmes and to take decisions in policy matters.

Today, India claims to have the third largest scientific and technical man-power. We are the tenth industrial nation in the world, sixth country to send satellite into space. However, our claim of possessing third largest scientific man-power is based on erroneous or faulty statistics. Anybody who is a graduate in science, we consider him to be a scientist, whether engaged in bank management or catering services. Considered populationwise our figure on scientific man-power is not at all

1. From India 83, a reference annual compiled and edited by Research and Reference Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India, Published by Publication Division—PP.

impressive. The number of scientists and engineers per 10,000 population is only 22 and technicians number about another 8; while in the Soviet Union the figures are as high as 311, and 43 respectively and in the United States it is 83 and 43 respectively.[2] Hence India comes nearly at the bottom of the scientific league. Furthermore hardly six percent of this man-power is engaged in research and development compared to 32 percent in the United States and 14 percent in the Soviet Union.

However, we have shown remarkable progress in the institutionalisation process of science in our society. Our infrastucture of science is at a stage which can take up any challenge. Our achievements in the fields of Atomic energy, Space, Electronics are quite satisfactory. We have achieved self-sufficiency in food and agriculture. We have successfully brought down the mortality rate. We have shown remarkable progress in oil exploration. Survey of natural resources, ground water, minerals and energy sources and waste land are the primary concern of Indian science today.

But our achievements in terms of our professed goals are quite dismal. After 36 years of independence, we have failed in providing bare minimum to our poor masses. More than 40 percent of people remain under the poverty line. Malnutrition, illiteracy, unemployment have crippled our social fabric. Our literacy rate is only 36%. Our agriculture remains heavily dependent on monsoon or "Rain God". We have not been able to provide drinking water facilities to each village. Our bullock cart which is the major vehicle of transport in rural areas is untouched by any technological development. Our agricultural implements are as primitive as they used to be a century ago. We are planning to cover 75% of our population on T. V. network but no sincere effort is made to tackle the problems of unemployment, poverty and malnutrition.

Our Government instead of developing our own technology in case of oil exploration, buys costly technology, ship, drilling

2 Figures are based on 1971 Census.

machines and all equipments from outside agencies. This leads to further dependence of Indian Science on western know-how. In most of the core sectors we only buy technologies from advanced western countries. In our medical research, we have failed in tackling tropical diseases, like malaria, filaria, leprosy etc. We spend more money on cancer research and heart diseases.

In international competitions, we stand nowhere. The gap between our scientific activities and developmental process with that of the western science is ever-increasing. We are mostly doing research, on the process which have become outdated and obsolete in the west or we are lagging 20 years behind their research. This is especially true in case of our defence research.

The irony in our country is that the benefit of science and technology has gone to the privileged few in the metropolitan centres. A microscopic minority group of urbanised and affluent people have been benefited by our technological breakthroughs. Indian science and technology have been heavily biased in favour of elites in our society,

The pertinent question arises here is to who is responsible for this state of affairs in science in India today ? With our infrastructural capability and institutional complexes why have we failed in terms of our declared objectives ? How to eliminate all those hurdles ? Let us analyse in brief the factors responsible for such a sad state of affairs.

First of all the politicians at the top, the bureaucrats and the scientists occupying administrative positions are greatly responsible for this mismanagement. Politicians are interested for narrow political gains from Indian Science. At a time of crisis in national life, they want a unclear explosion, or sending a satellite to the space and thereby distracting public criticism of their failures. All the directors and other senior posts are filled by people of connections and not always due to their merit.

The scientists at the senior level then stagnate and could hardly do research work of merit, they always tend to take administrative positions. That's why they become vulnerable to political pressure and hobnub in the corridors of power. Politicians control them through appointments to the highest positions and even through superannuatory oppointments. Quite often people with no background of science were appointed as Heads of scientific units. In the recent past Prof.Nurul Hassan, a specialist in Medieval History was appointed as Vice-President of CSIR. The bureaucrats always create intolerable situation within the national laboratories and in the Ministry or in CSIR headquarters. In India lot of paper work and routine administration is involved inside scientific organisations. For purchase of chemicals, equipment you have to depend on the clearance from the administrators. The process is so tedious and time-consuming, that by the time you get them, you lose all your interest in the project. In case of importing certain machines, you have to even run to the Ministry and once it is cleared, a global tender is issued and then you get it. Sometimes the purchasing committee for their interests buy sub-standard equipments from a particular supplier. Often you have to bribe the people in administration to get your things done.

The senior-scientist also harasses the juniors working under him. Inside any Government Laboratory there are various divisions and sections. The section heads and division heads write the confidential reports of scientists working under him. Inspite of all your good performances,if the C.R. is bad when after five years one is to be assessed, the C.R. plays the major role in promotion. A scientist will not get a promotion with an adverse confidential report.[3] The confidential report is enough to kill anybody's creativity within an organisation. Again the deputation and training for going abroad for scientists are always in the hands of senior scientists. Quite often they distribute patronages to their own favourites.

3. These are all author's own findings during collection of data for a Ph.D. thesis inside a national laboratory.

The assessment system is not suitable for giving incentives to a scientist. Five years after, one faces the assessment committee, which comprises scientists from both outside and inside the organisation. They ask questions for 15 minutes, sometimes from fundamentals of a subject and do not take into account the project under which he was working and how successfully he has conducted it. Promotions will be automatic if you are in good terms with some of the scientists in the committee, who can canvass for you. Sometimes a scientist with no achievement is also promoted which creates relative frustration in the really hard working scientists. Scientists should be only assessed on the basis of projects undertaken and their successful participation in it.

The major fault also lies with our lack of perspective in science planning and confusion over our objectives. Our universities, industrial, national and regional laboratories under CSIR do not cooperate and work in co-ordinated fashion. Sometimes the result is a lot of duplication in our research. Our national laboratories do not provide any kind of feedback or input to our industries. CSIR laboratories do not know the requirements of our industries. At times the technology provided by CSIR is either costlier or obsolete that industries prefer to be without it. CSIR goes on in ad hoc arrangements in terms of objectives. Sometimes more emphasis is given on pure research, sometimes on applied and lacks in planning with a long term perspective. CSIR should take up more achievement oriented and developmental projects to provide dynamic breakthroughs in technology which would result in fruitful socio-economic development in our society. Industries in return should depend on national laboratories for testing and standardisation of commodities. Universities should take up only pure or fundamental research with a long term perspective.

Our culture, home environment and our educational curriculum is anti-scientific in nature. It only creates fears,

subordination, hypocrisy, fears of Gods and ghosts to reinforce dependency and maintain discipline. Our science and technological superstructure have no grass-root moorings. Our text books are replete with mythology, fatalistic tales and submission to Gods and seniors. The picture of a teacher is generally authoritarian. We do not have laboratory facilities in schools for practicals. For any natural phenomenon, the Indian mind seeks refuge in supernatural powers. We worship machines and put 'tilaka' on it.

Our team-work and collaborative research, which is the very essence of modern organised science is very bad. We are very secretive people on professional matters. Our scientists do not discuss research problems with others. The fear is one might duplicate it. Our interactional pattern inside a laboratory is on parochial and regional lines. Only non-professional events are discussed in informal meetings.

In India, there is a high rate of inertia. This is something to do with our national character and geographical climate. Westerners can work hard, perhaps due to cold and temperate climate. Our national character is such that we do not have a professional rigour and do not become highly ambitious. We get contented very easily and do not strive hard and even ambition is never encourged in our society. This may be having something to do with the Hindu philosophy of simple living, high thinking, coupled with destiny or fate, the ultimate arbitrator in man's life.

However, there may be several other factors, which are responsible for the inertia and stagnation of Indian Science today. The scope of the paper does not permit me to examine all such factors. But one can easily conclude, after a careful examination that Indian science is passing through a critical phase. It is not taking up the developmental challenges faced by Indian society. A developing country like India cannot afford to bear the cost of science which is not responsive to its

socio-economic needs. A time has come when,science planners, bureaucrats, scientists themselves should give a careful thought to it and take corrective measures. Everybody knows the problems; but it is time to act. Only the careful application of science and technology can remove poverty and can help in the progressive modernisation of the Indian Society.

References :

1. Barber, Bernard, *Science and Social Order*, George Allen & Unwin, London.

2. Menon, M.G.K., Science and Society in Patel Memorial Lecture, 1973, Ministry of I. & B., Publication Division, 1973.

3. Barnes, Berry; (ed) *Sociology of Science*, Penguine Books, 1972.

4. Merton, R.K., Science and Democratic Social Structure in the book *Social Theory and Social Structure*; Free Press, New York, 1952.

5. *Report on National Committee on Science and Technology*; Department of Science and Technology, 1973.

6. Rehman, A. ; *Science, Technology and Economic Development in India* ; National Publishing House, 1974.

7. Census Reports, Government of India.

8. Sklair, Leslie; *Organised Knowledge*, Granada Publishing Limited, St. Albana Street, 1973.

Role of Electronic Media in Distance Education

—Dr. Jagannath Mohanty

Introduction

Distance Education is the most democratic and socialistic pattern of education. It is very democratic in the sense that the deprived and under-privileged people get the benefit of education under this pattern. It is socialistic in the sense that Government controls and provides this system of education mostly for the benefit of the weaker sections of the community The International Commission on the Development of Education (Learning To Be, 1972) has aptly remarked, 'The future of our societies lies in democracy, development and change. Our societies must accordingly train men for democracy, humanistic development and change. Democracy has to blaze a path through a mass of obstacles and snares. Technical progress, the relative abundance of goods already available in some places and the plethora likely in the future, all hold out great promise for justice. But the progress is also a source of inequity, alienation and new tyrannies." (P—101).

It has, therefore, been observed, "The formal and traditional system of education has been playing an elitist role through ages. It has been perpetuating the disparities and imbalanced growth in the society." (Mohanty, 1986, P—142). We have also seen that inspite of the Constitutional Directive, universalisation of elementary education has not yet been realized on account of the inadequacies of the formal system of education.

Therefore, other alternatives and innovative strategies like non-formal education, correspondence education and distance education have been introduced and are rather found more effective and useful for democratization and socialization of education.

The Fourth Revolution in Education

According to Eric Ashby (1967) we are now in the midst of the Fourth Revolution in Education—the age of electronics. The first revolution took place when the human society began to differentiate adult roles and the task of educating the young was shifted partly from parents to teachers and from home to school. The second revolution occurred when the written word was adopted as a tool of education and the oral instruction continued to coexist with written materials in the class room. The third revolution set in with the invention of printing technology and the subsequent mass production of books and journals.

The Fourth Revolution has commenced with the development in electronics like radio, television, audio/video recorder and computer. The social scientists are also of the opinion that these electronic media should be utilised effectively for optimising learning experiences. The International Commission on the Development of Education (1972) has mentioned, "In communications man was limited for thousands of years to the distance his voice or a drum beat could carry or the time it took to deliver a written message. in the 1960s, hundreds of millions of people heard astronauts speaking from space and saw them the moment they stepped on the moon. There is every reason to believe that this progress in human knowledge and power, which has assumed such dizzying speed over the past twenty years, is only in its early stages. It is likely to gather still greater momentum as teaching in all countries becomes more democratic and particularly as educational progress in

developing countries produces many more researchers in fields related to man's knowledge and his control over the environment." (p-90)

The Commission has also aptly added, "Further qualitative leaps forward may be predicted not only in inventive activity but in productivity, reliability and quality. Progress in electronics, coupled with the coming of computer is the basis of a revolution comparable to the invention of writing. "(p-90). Hence in the existing position, as well as in future situations education cannot afford to ignore the utilisation of electronic equipment both for its quality and quantity.

Electronic Media in Distance Education

Distance education has been utilising the electronic equipment like radio, television, audio/video recorder more than any other systems of education. In this context, the Open University (OU) of the United Kingdom has set the model and earned the credit of making the innovative use of various media besides written or printed and spoken words. It is worth mentioning here that the OU was first suggested by Harold Wilson, the then leader of the Labour Party in 1963. He announced a plan called "University of the Air" an educational innovation which would utilise TV, radio, etc alongwith its correspondence course. Many people laughed at this proposal, but it formed an important part of the Labour Party's programme for providing educational opportunity to those who were deprived of further education for one reason or the other. The OU was established in 1970 and received as many as 40,000 applications during the same year out of which 25,000 were selected for one or the other of the courses in social ,sciences, arts, biological and physical sciences and mathematics.

The first educational radio and television programmes of the OU were broadcast in January,1971 as a part of its courses. The radio and TV programmes were specially produced and

broadcast by the BBC in order to supplement the correspondence materials, standard text books, contact courses etc. The BBC producers and educational technologists were associated in planning or designing the curriculum along with the academics and subject experts from the very beginning. A supporting staff of artists, photographers, librarians and other technical persons were required to help implementing or organising the course curriculum plans. The course teams make the policy decisions for the use of various media and materials, but productions of a radio or television programme was the joint responsibility of an academician and a producer.

The BBC produces and broadcasts radio and television programmes for the OU at the rate of about 30 hours transmissions each per week. The OU pays the cost of production and transmission of such programmes to the BBC which has set up a separate production unit for the purpose. It is estimated that BBC produces and broadcasts 300 TV programmes and 300 radio programmes for the OU each year. The duration of TV programme is about 25 minutes and of each radio programme is 20 minutes and each transmission is repeated later for convenience of the students preferably during the same week.

It may be pointed out here that OU gives great emphasis on research and feedback for improving the system. As early as in 1970 the OU has set up an Institute of Educational Technology for the purpose. The educational experts of this Institute provide guidance at the planning stage, extend advice for preparing suitable materials and for producing the required radio and television programmes and work hard for assessing the students performance and evaluating various components of the course including radio and TV programmes. It is also interesting to note that the BBC Producers are found to be very keen in getting feedback reports from the educational technologists on their programmes in order to improve their further production.

In India unfortunately electronic media have not assumed adequate importance in the sphere of correspondence education. The AIR Stations at Delhi, Jalandhar, Hyderabad and all stations in Tamilnadu broadcast programmes 5-7 days a week in support of the correspondence courses organised by the universities. The National Policy on Education, 1986, has however, enunciated (p-22) that "modern educational technology must reach out to the most distant areas and the most deprived sections of the beneficiaries simultaneously with the areas of comparative affluence and ready availability."

In the context of distance learning the National Policy has also specifically pointed out "The Open University system has been initiated in order to augment opportunities for higher education and as an instrument of democratising education". (p-15) The Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU) set up in 1985 has now been strengthened with massive infrastructure at the headquarters at Delhi and its regional centres at various States. Other States may also set up their open university under IGNOU. It has developed various courses of studies under the distance education system which means a student joining a OU can take courses from another OU. Besides, the system will offer a wide variety of academic programmes supported by various media.

Conclusion :

Although Distance Education is mainly meant for the deprived and underprivileged, the quality of such education is in no way inferior to the formal system of education. Rather it should be richer, better and more effective with the help of various modern media, methods and materials, which constitute educational technology in true sense of the term and ensure the optimization of learning experiences. Both quality and quantity of education can very well be reconciled, safeguarded and promoted by this system, which would be really democratic as well as socialistic in nature and spirit.

References :

1. UNESCO, *Report of International Commission on Development of Education* (Learning To Be, 1972). Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, 1973.

2. Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India *National Policy on Education.* 1986, New Delhi.

3. ———., *Programme of Action,* New Delhi, 1982.

4. Mohanty, J., *Educational Technology and Communication Media,* Nalanda, Cuttack, 2nd Edition, 1986.

5. ——., *Educational Broadcasting : Radio and TV in Education.* Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, 1984.

6. ———., *Indian Education in the Emerging Society.* Sterling Publishers, 1981.

7. Sampath, K. et al., *Introduction to Educational Technology.* Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, 1981.

Culture and Creativity : William Golding's 'Lord of the Flies' as a Fable

—(Mrs.) Sanghamitra Acharya

"I do feel fable as being an invented thing out on the surface whereas myth is something that comes out of the roots of things in the ancient sense of being the key to existence, the whole meaning of life and experience as a whole"—Golding.

As both writers and philosophers have agreed in the past, the process of creation is a very complex one. In fact, one is often led to believe the Ion-Socrates conversation of Plato's *Ion* where logically, a poet is an insane person, delivering or citing his verses in a state of 'rhapsody'. If the ancient poet be substituted for all creative writers, the logic would, to an extent, hold good even in modern times, since the process of creation is involuntary. However, much as an artist is conscious of his 'technique' (a modern hurrah-word) his art remains, even to himself, an enigma. This being so, an artist asked to judge himself of ten blunders upon a solution which does not necessarily, either answer or justify his creation. What an artist creates 'with' is not so important as what he 'does' create. Modern critics, however, with the Post-Freudian element hounding them, look for a centre where there is none, often forgetting in the rush, to look at the outer manifestation as it is, and to explain it as such. The proper function of criticism being to explain an artist only in terms of his work of art and not vice versa. Golding too, should be judged from what he *created* rather than what he *thought* and expressed elsewhere.

In 'Lord of the flies' Golding's theory is essentially that of civilisation as a moral paradox. This theory is, however, not discovered but propounded. At the first sight it remains sufficiently camouflaged with a *technical inventiveness* which runs throughout his work and therein lies the master's great art.

Malcolm Bradbury, speaking on the claims of Golding as a mythical writer, states, "there is something highly made about his myths, at least in the way in which they are decorated with a rhetorical extravagance." And this is specially true of 'Lord of the flies'. To assert the view that Golding's reputation as an artist is not praiseworthy would be to exhibit both ignorance and audacity. The endeavour is to show Golding's calibre as something unique. What he should be praised for is generally overlooked, what is a paradox, glorified. The reputation is, like most reputations, largely a fruit of ignorance, a kind of schooled ignorance.

'Lord of the flies',it can be said,is popular due to two factors: It's exceptionally powerful narrative drive and the thematic clarity. The narrative, due to its excellence is responsible, in the first place for creating a misconception about the theme, which *appears* to be complex. In reality, the theme is clear. Mark Kinkead-Weekes and Ian Gregor, in their elaborate study of the novel come forth with the opinion that Golding is far more complex than what he appears in the novel. The *thematic clarity* is an illusion. The novel, according to them should be read for all that is unsaid rather than the revelations. It is exactly the kind of criticism Golding himself would look for.

Such interpretations, as above, cannot be said to be wrong. What can be said is only that the surface as revealed to us is transparent enough. There is no room for further ramification of sensibility in search of something which can never be of any primary significance.

The important thing about the novel is the appeal to adults and children alike. The scenes are vividly portrayed, it is true, but the clarity of theme too counts a lot for making its appeal universal. The theme, as we find it, is this. A group of British boys are abandoned on a tropical island. Golding wants to portray the evolution of evil in the nature of these innocent boys. Thus he sets about picking and choosing, moulding and manipulating each character and the symbols which he uses for his purpose are clear and crystalline. They are not 'flexible and deep' in the sense that they are not amibiguous. What, after all is evident *universally* cannot be an illusion to what lies underneath. Besides, if we overlook Golding's comment on fables, the *thesis* (no one can doubt its existence) recedes to the background, the fabular structure grows unobtrusiue and what remains is an exceptionally poignant rendering of the development or more correctly, the demolition of the boys' characters.

An elaboration of a frequently occurring symbol such as that of the *Conch* will yield that the novelist attributes to each symbol a definite social or moral purpose. The Conch for example, from the moment of discovery assumes an importance not because of its physical existence only, but also because it is immediately associated with the task of representing order and civilisation. At every turnpoint, it stands immobile, its purpose fixed, till at last, heralding a total disintegration of order, it 'ceased to exist.'

The discovery of the Conch and its evolution can be traced through the following passages taken from the beginning to the conclusion of the novel.

"What's that ?"

'Ralph had stopped smiling and was pointing into the lagoon. Something creamy lay among the ferny weeds'.

"A store"

"No, A Shell".

'Suddenly Piggy was a bubble with decorous excitement.'
(Lord of the flies; p. 21)

'Now the Shell was no longer a thing seen but not to be touched. Ralph too became excited Piggy babbled'

'Ralph took the Shell from Piggy and a little water ran down his arm. In colour the Shell was deep cream, touched here and there with fading pink. Between the point, worn away into a little hole, and the pink lips of the mouth, lay eighteen inches of Shell with a slight spiral twist and covered with a delicate, embossed pattern. Ralph shook sand out of the deep tube.'...

'Ralph looked up.'

"We can use this to call the others. Have a meeting. They'll come when they hear us." (Ibid, p-22)

The Conch is discovered and admired and then given the social purpose of "calling an assembly.'

'Ralph grasped the idea and hit the Shell with air from his diaphragm. Immediately the thing sounded. A deep, harsh note boomed under the palms, spread through the intricacies of the forest and echoed back from the pink granite of the mountain. Clouds of birds rose from the tree tops, and something squealed and ran in the undergrowth'. (Ibid, p-23)

'But there was a stillness about Ralph as he sat that marked him out : there was his size and attractive appearance; and most obscurely. Yet most powerfully, there was the Conch The being that had blown that, had sat waiting for them on the platform with the delicate thing balanced on his knees, was set apart'.
(Ibid, p-30)

Ralph becomes associated with the Conch and as a result with order. He stands for moral codes and also for a kind of sanctity only because he and the Conch are associable. Then

later, we have the desperate need to cling to an order symbolised again through the Conch.

"When I saw Jack I was sure he'd go for the Conch. Can't think why."

'The group of boys looked at the white Shell with affectionate respect. Piggy placed it in Ralph's hands and the littluns, seeing the familiar symbol, started to come back.'

"Not here."

'We turned towards the platform, feeling the need for ritual.........' (Idid, p-175)

"I got the Conch. I'm going to that Jack Merridew and tell him, I am."

"You'll get hurt."

"What can he do more than he has? I'll tell him what's what. You let me carry the Conch, Ralph. I'll show him the one thing he has'nt got." (Ibid,p-210)

Finally as evil reigns on the island, both Piggy and the Conch cease to exist.

'The rock struck Piggy a glancing blow from chin to knee, the Conch exploded into a thousand white fragments and ceased to exist. Piggy, saying nothing, with no time for even a grunt, travelled through the air sideways from the rock, turning over as he went.' (Ibid, p-222)

Then we have a triumphant Jack, his conscience free from the restrictions of the Conch.

'Suddenly Jack bounded out from the tribe and began screaming wildly.'

"See? See? That's what you'll get! I meant that! There is'nt a tribe for you any more! The Conch is gone......"

(Ibid, p-223)

What we realise from the above examination is that Golding has an underlying purpose for introducing any symbol. The external appearance, quickly dispensed with, we have the 'sound of the shell' symbolised as one of transformation. The external beauty of the Conch henceforth ceases to matter. The Conch (not its sound as an abstract concept but the thing itself as a physical reality) is to stand for the ordered half of 'human condition,' the 'calling of assemblies,' and 'having meetings.' Against the backdrop of this microcivilisation Golding will subsequently show us the "moral paradox." The evil which exists within man and the excessive demands of society which unleashes it."

The Conch plays its specific role because it is given immense character and almost lives through the novel. In chapter after chapter it is used to bring out a latent meaning to an otherwise ordinary action. The point that is to be driven home is that, Golding has introduced the Conch and given it its socio-moral purpose for exactly the effect that is wrought upon us. There is no 'holding back', on Goldings part and none of the 'discovering' so harped upon on our part. The whole scheme is clear and so clear indeed, that sometimes its simplicity is suspect. We have Golding's own verdict "The greatest ideas are the simplest" Hence there is no reason why the idea behind the "sound of the Shell" should not be a simple one.

There is, similarly, in every character and symbol thus used, a definite meaning, a definite purpose, all pre-ordained so that the novelist can both elaborate his *thesis* and bring to a logical conclusion, the action initiated. Piggy's glasses with their power to light a fire and allow vision to Piggy are charged with a symbolic purpose. They *"flash"* every now and again and every time they flash, we are projected into the psychological realm of Piggy's existence. The castle rock, the beast, the Lord of the flies and even the triangular patch

of land are all suggestive of the particular tasks assigned to them. They make our conceptions move and move in one direction only. There cannot be room for ambiguity of any kind, so clear the picture is. There cannot be two meanings to Piggy's and Simon's death heralding a reign of evil and terror over p eace and order.

An argument has been put forth by Kinkead-Weekes and Gregor that the boys besides standing for the particular trait each is assigned, are also boys, i.e. as far as physical realities are concerned. No one who has read the novel will consent that they are *primarily* so. The novelist's task at hand is to show Jack as the power urge and nowhere in the novel one finds Jack, simply a boy. His actions and words are pre-settled to give him an air of Satanism, even in the preliminary introduction. 'Inside the floating cloak he was tall, thin, and bony and his hair was red beneath the black cap. His face was creempled and freckled, and ugly without silliness. Out of this fac e stared two light blue eyes, frustrated now, and turning, or ready to turn, to anger.'

If at all there are to be found instances, they are purely incidental and only contribute to the realism and verisimilitude of the novel, which would otherwise become an out and out Romance. Even the island itself, soon loses its glamour and its 'rhythm' and holds only one purpose which the novelist would have, that is, of being a natural and primitive background where the boys can reveal and learn truths about themselves.

The mythic work would subvert any of the tendencies explained above and shown by Golding. The developments would, as it were, arise solely out of the actions of the characters which would, in turn perhaps be ruled by the inevitable 'fate'. The technique would be to 'hold-back' rather than reveal and Golding's 'Lord of the flies' reveals-quickly and at-once clearly. Moreover, an omniscient 'fate' does not play a significant role, nor the actions roll out one another as cause and effect to reveal a character. A character is revealed

symbolically for the most part and through the technical inventiveness for the other. What they should do has been already decided by the novelist himself.

Although this kind of analysis appears to be highly divisive, it is only, it should be noted, applicable to the thematic aspect of the novel. There is a *thesis* which Golding has and he would have us know it by inventing a situation, giving it a backdrop (such as that of nuclear was in 'Lord of the flies') and using explicit and clear symbols which have no ambiguity about them. This need not be, necessarily, a drawback. On the other hand, almost all those who have read the novel will agree that it is this extreme *clarity of vision* which makes the noval enjoyable. The ambiguity, if it had a larger role to play, would not appeal to the reader's sense of identification with the fictive universe. It would become overcharged with meanings and cease to have the fictive distance that is always necessary for a good novel.

We are, of course, not dealing with the merits and demerits of a mythic work of art and a fable. Each genre as we know has its own place and reason of appeal. Indeed the two can and do overlap or exist vis-a-vis each other in a single work and the work can still be a veritable work of art. What we *are* concerned with is,that the fable. should not be regarded as a lower game simply because it is a fable. Stark realities about the existential dilemma so hotly discussed currently, can and are expressed through fables. 'Lord of the flies' is an example just such, on hand. We cannot say that 'Lord-of-the flies' is not a great novel. Popularity of the novel would prove us false. On the other hand, we should not assume, as is unfortunately done, that since it is a great novel, it cannot be of a fabular structure. Its true greatness lies in the fact that 'Lord of the flies' is an exceptionally *well-made-fable*.

References :

1. Bradbury,Malcolm., "The Novel" in *The Twentieth Century Mind* Vol. 2, (Ed.) Cox and Dysen.
2. Kinkead-Weekes, Mark and Gregor,Ian., "Lord of the Flies" in *William Golding : A Critical Study.*

Health Education for the Youth : Nutrition

—Dr. Usha Mehta

Adolescents and youth have a strong interest in sports such as football, basketball, track events, jogging, swimming or tennis. Exercise and physical culture have a strong influence on an individual, health in many ways for example by reducing the incidence of obesity, by increasing the dimensions of central circulation, and the circulation in the myocardium etc. Physical exercise by unknown mechanism lowers the blood serum triglysride content also.

The question often asked by sportsmen is "What is the best food to eat ?". The answer is, "A diet adequate in all required nutrients." An adequate diet and adequate water intake appears to be critical nutritional factors in maximal athletic performance. A diet best preparing an individual to withstand prolonged heavy physical activity is recommended. For maximum work capacity carbohydrate is of great importance because all the fuel is derived from carbohydrates. In heavy exercises anaerobic metabolic processes are involved which indicate a major participation of carbohydrates for delivery of energy.

REQUIREMENTS OF NUTRIENTS :

Calories : The caloric requirements are increased considerably during an athletic activity. Adjustment of energy intake according to the body size and activity level is of prime importance. The total daily caloric requirements of a sportsman/woman may range from 3000 to 5000k. cal. The optimal distribution of energy in the athletic diet is the same as for population in general with 10% of total calories derived from

protein; 35 and 50 percent from fat and carbohydrates respectively. A caloric excess may lead to increase in total body fat which decreases the quality of athletic performance and may lead to habit its overeating and obesity in later life.

Carbohydrates :

About 30% of the carbohydrates in the diet should be in the form of sacrose and glucose. Excessive quantities of sugar should not be ingested some hours prior to the event: this has shown to impair the maximal work capacity drastically. A frequent supply of sugar in moderate quantities with water during the race may favourably influence the performance. Sucrose and glucose should be given in quantities of 50 to 80g. at a time in the form of drinks once in 2 hours before and after the athletic performance, because all the fuel is derived from carbohydrates.

Fat :

Fat is a concentrated source of energy, hence about 35 percent of the calorie intake should be derived from fats. Vegetable oils rich in essential fatty acids should constitute about 0 per cent of the fat in the diet. The daily fat intake should be between 100 to 140g.

Proteins :

Since an athlete may consume 4000 to 5000 calories a day his protein intake is about twice as high as that of the non-actives and probably in excess of the heed. Protein combustion even during heavy exercise is not higher than under resting conditions. Even after exhaustion of the glycogen depots, continued exercise does not raise the Nitrogen excretion significantly. Therefore, no additional protein is required except where there is an unusual development of muscle. It has also been concluded that excessive protein from non-vegetarian sources should be avoided by the athlete because animal fat is likely to be high in saturated fat which may have an adverse effect on body dehydration. Protein intake of 1g./Kg of body weight easily meets the requirements of proteins. Though the

high protein intake doesn't increase the efficiency of muscle performance, in hot humid environment during vigorous activity the nitrogen losses from the skin are considerable and total daily body losses may necessitate a protein intake upto 100g.

Minerals :

The recommended dietary allowance (RDA) for calcium and iron are the same as for hard working persons, i. e. 0.4 to 0.5 g calcium and 24 mg. and 32 mg. iron in case of males and females respectively.

Vitamins :

The RDA of Vitamin A in terms of retinol is 750ug/day. The riboflavin, thiamin and niacin requirements are related to the calorie needs and the RDA for athletes will be about 2.0 to 3.0 mg. of thiamin, 2 2 to 3.2 mg. riboflavin and 26.0 to 36.0 mg. of niacin per day. RDA of Vitamin 'C' for athletes are similar to those of persons during hard work i. e. 40 mg /day. The folic acid and vitamin B_{12} RDA's are 100 ug/day and 1 ug/day respectively. An intake per day of 200 1. U of Vit. D meets the RDA of athletes for this vitamin, A supplement of Vitamin E has been reported to increase the physical performance of the athlete. Wheat germ oil is a good source of Vitamin E.

Water and Electrolytes :

Profuse sweating increases the losses of sodium, chloride and potassium. Ordinary mixed diets furnish generous amounts of these electrolytes and replacement is not necessary during competitions. Following the competition any deficiency can be corrected by consuming food which is rich in sodium, potassium and chloride. Salt supplement is unnecessary until water loss exceeds 3 litres. Many coaches use flavoured electrolyte solutions containing salts, other electrolytes and sugar.

Body water constitutes a higher percentage of body weight in athletes than in non-athletes. For the most part physical

performance in good physical condition does not deteriorate appreciably till the water loss reaches three percent of the body weight and the range can be extended to 4-5% in men in excellent physical condition. There is considerable research to indicate that water consumed during athletic event can be beneficial. It is indicated that it is impossible to replace water as quickly as it is lost during strenous exercise but partial replacement can prevent overheating. Fluid losses during prolonged vigorous activity may account upto 4 litres/hour. Dehydration reduces the performance. About 2 hours before the event the athlete should consume about 500 ml. of water and 10 to 15 minutes prior to the competition another 500 ml of water. During competition it is better to ingest small amount every 10 to 15 minutes rather than large amounts at one time. Athletes should drink fruit juice frequently. Water administered should be equal or more than the sweat losses to reduce the physiological strain and increase work performance.

TIMING AND RELATIVE SIZE OF MEALS :

It has been observed the number, size and spacing of meals affect the physical performance. Frequent small meals have been found to improve overall physical performance more than a few large meals. A pattern of five meals a day leads to a total work output greater than that observed with three meals a day.

WEIGHT CONTROL :

During the period of muscle development some weight gain is experimented. Athletes who must meet specific weight requirement as for wrestling should achieve the necessary weight loss losing fat, not water. Boxers and wrestlers often place themselves on 'crash' diets combined with dehydration to bring down their weight, to become eligible for lower weight classification.

TIPS FOR PREPARATION FOR A COMPETITION :

1. Do not take meals immediately before exercise as this may lead to nausea and vomitting.
2. Eating a heavy meal just before exercise should be avoided as it is likely to hamper the performance. The meal eaten just before the performance should be light, i. e. easily digestible & small in bulk.
3. A rapidly digested meal low in fat, moderately low in protein and high in complex carbohydrates should be eaten 3 to 5 hours before the competition.
4. High fat diets should not be consumed a few days prior to the competition. Some days on a high carbohydrates diet improves the capacity for prolonged heavy exercise by increasing the Respiratory Quotient.
5. If possible avoid heavy physical work on the preceding day. To prevent depletion of the existing glycogen depots prior to the event
6. Learn by experience, how to prepare for peak performances. Do not take any nutrient concentrates such as protein tablets as advertised by some pharmaceutical firms.
7. Avoid high protein diets as these lead to excessive urinary losses of water.
8. Exercise tolerance is better maintained by drinking water or saline than by not drinking water or taking salt alone.
9. Tea, coffee and alcohol should be avoided during the contest. Alcohol may produce depression and in coordination of movements. Tea and coffee may have an immediate stimulating action but has a depressing effect 3 to 4 hours later and thus may impair physical performance.
10. Include liberal amounts of fruits, fruit juices, cane sugar and glucose before and after athletic performance as these serve as readily available sources of energy,

A potentially beneficial role is played by diet and nutrition in the performance of sports endeavours. The composition of diet has secondary influences on the performance in intense short-lived sports events, the primary being the degree of training, acrobic capacity and efficiency in performance of work. In prolonged exercise, ready access to fuel substitutes become the dominant factor in performance. The youth of India need to know these basic factors for the development of a meaningful youth-culture.

References :

1. M. Swaminathan, "*Essentials of Foods and Nutrition*" Vol. I, 1974, Ganesh and Co. Madras.

2. E. A. Martin and A. A. Coolidge, *Nutrition in Action.* 1978 Purdue Uni. Calumet, Illinois, U.S.A.

3. H. A. Guthrie, *Introductory Nutrition,* 1979, C. V. Mosby Co. Missouri, U.S.A.

4. C. H. Robinson & M. R. Lawler, *Normal and Therapeutic Nutrition* 1982, Collier Macmillan Publishers, London.

5. H. Fleck, *Introduction to Nutrition,* 1975, Collier Macmillan Publishers, London.

6. R. S. Good Heart and M. E. Shills. *Modern Nutrition in Health and DIsease,* 1980. Lea and Febiger, Philadelphia.

Empiricism and the Phenomenology of Religious Experience

—Dr. James J. Preston

THE PROBLEM OF "OTHERNESS"

Religious experience is expressed in an extraordinary array of modalities ranging from relatively benign feelings of contentment to explosions of ecstatic vision. In virtually every case the common denominator is a reported sense of "Otherness" that ruptures through the ordinary course of being in the wored. Rudolf Otto (1923 : 25) refers to this widely experienced phenomenon as *mysterium tremendum or "the Wholly Other."*

It is an experience characterized by a sense of being removed from ordinary time and space, a lifting of the veil of sensate experience, along with expanding consciousness and an ultimate sense of union with an effulgent light. The phenomenon is so widespread as to be virtually a cultural universal reported in every religious tradition throughout the world. Ironically it remains relatively unexplored by social and behavioral scientists (Collins 1978 : 33 and Lewis 1971 : 11). Although we have invested a lot of time studying myths, rites, beliefs, and prescribed codes of institutional religion, there is very little literature on religious experience. We have collected mostly the experiences of religious specialists like shamans and almost nothing from common people. Studies of religion are consequently two dimensional; for without an understanding of religious experience the external manifestations of the religious life (as revealed in readily recorded ritual systems) remain superficial and only partially understood.

This lack of data about religious experience is related to profound difficulties in defining the phenomenon. Even more problematic is the lack of methodological tools for gaining access to this domain of human behavior. The psychologist, William James (1961 42) who first initiated systematic studies of religious experience avoided defining it. He defined instead the more general term "religion" as "... feelings, act and experiences of individual men in their solitude, so far as they comprehend themselves to stand in relation to whatever they may consider the divine." For James religious experience is primary and formal institutional religion is derivative. The inner images, emotions and ideas experienced by the individual originate in an underlying process James called the "stream of consciousness" His definition of religion has influenced most psychological literature on religious experience. Other scholars (particularly historians of religion and anthropologists) include terms like "awe", "the sacred", "ultimate concerns", cr "surrender to a higher power" in their definitions of religion. There is always some reference to the divinity whether conceived to be of transcendent or immanent origin.

For purposes of this discussion I shall break with that tradition and use the following definition : *Religious experience is a person's empathy with and response to dimensions of reality he conceives to be beyond ordinary sensate reality.* The heuristic value of this definition is found in its openness to the whole spectrum of reported religious experiences, including visions that lack reference to a deity or divine entity. Such non-divinized religious experiences, often couched in terms of nature oriented visions, represent an important component of psychic transformation found throughout the world among individuals who confront the cosmic mystery of being in the world. This definition also accommodates the shift in consciousness about the "Other" which occurs in the case of radical changes in worldviews. A contemporary example can be drawn from the natural sciences. Among scientists who accept the validity of the theory of evolution for the explanation of

human origins some remain profoundly religious. Their sense of "Otherness", awe and mystery is neither destroyed, nor in anyway altered, by the fact of evolution; rather the line demarcating ordinary reality from the cosmic mystery has merely shifted. Consequently, their religious experience remains intact and may even be enhanced by insights into human evolution. To them the mystery is no longer how complex forms of life have come to exist, but rather the intricate architectonic structure extending from the least complex forms of life to the most elaborate in all its perfection is not only a source of extraordinary beauty, but the wellspring of inspirational awe and wonder indistinguishable from similar emotions generated by the contemplation of more traditional religious ideas.

The definition of religious experience proposed here does dot require a concept of transcendental divinity. "Otherness" may be experienced equally from within. In the words of Octavio Paz :

> The experience of the sacred is not so much the revelation of an object external to us—god, demon, alien presence—as an opening of our heart or our entrails so that hidden 'Other' may emerge.. ...The experience of the supernatural is the experience of the Other (1973 : 124).

However it is conceived, religious experience is universally expressed as a participation by the individual in the "Otherness' of being—revealed as pure being to ego, the mingling of divinity in the stuff of life, the emergence of the ineffable in the context of the ordinary, or a brief encounter with another dimension. It is always an energizing experience of renewal that leaves an indelible mark on the life of its subject.

In his classic definition of religion, Clifford Geertz (1966:4) captures the "Otherness" in religion by reducing it to a system of symbols which formulates "..........conceptions of a general

order of existence." For Geertz religion is a "model of and for reality" having an element of "transcendent truth" (*Ibid* : 13). This definition, widely used by anthropologists and religion specialists, has been very useful but it only resolves part of the problem. Religion is not concerned only with constructing "models of and for reality", it is also profoundly entrenched in the equally important task of providing human beings with relatively "safe" mechanisms for exploring that realm of being which is beyond the confines of the cultural system. The religious life is devoted not only to the development of a language of cultural symbols for the construction of "reality" or the comprehension of the comprehendable, it is also equally concerned with pricisely the opposite problem in human experience; namely, collapse of culturally constructed "order"—the encounter with an ineffable realm of existence, the periphery penetrating the center, the abyss revealed, the dark illuminated, the invisible made visible. Thus, religious experience is derived both from encounters with symbolic "models of and for reality" and from the experience of a collapsing of "ordinary reality" so that previous boundaries of time and space are no longer lodged in the categories (or models) routinely employed to conceive of the cosmos. Sometimes order dissolves in religious experience; chaos reigns, destroys then revitalizes the world and a new conception of order is incorporated by the individual. The classical disciplines supplied by the world's religions often provide structures and vehicles to accomplish this frightening, even dangerous task. Established religious traditions enfold the "experience of chaos" in a highly ordered (or ritualized) format designed to crystalize and monumentalize this return to "primal chaos." Such collective expressions of institutionalized religious experience are enshrined in elaborate metaphysical systems (such as dramatic performances devoted to acting-out myths, rites and shared metaphors). There is no lack of such easily recorded collective data on religious experience. Anthropological descriptions of collective religious experiences are rich and prolific. What is critically missing is an understanding of how all this occurs at the individual level. How do individuals

process and cope with the collapse of "ordinary reality" and the consequent emergence of an "Otherness" in the midst of everyday life ?

No doubt the problem of defining religious experience is formidable. This leads us to an even more profound difficulty encountered by social scientists. Unlike the physical sciences that study another order of being, the human sciences are concerned with phenomena of the same order as the investigator. Ninian Smart has articulated this problem as follows :

> The fact is that we are on the same level with what we study, when we study humans behaving religiously and it is this that is particularly responsible for the reflexive effect of the study of religion on religion (1973 36).

The attempt by humans to study their own order of being objectively becomes more complex in the analysis of subjective reports about religious experience. The whole problem is even further compounded by the fact that the interpretation of religious experience is part of the experience itself (Ellwood 1980 : xi).

Reductionism is the most troublesome obstacle to the study of religious experience. Even a phenomenological approach that brackets religious experience tends to reduce it to "belief systems." The danger, however, of striving to transcend reductionism is an uncomfortable poetic approach which borders on mysticism and cannot be tolerated in the human sciences. Smart proposes that even "......those who oppose reductionism have tried to do so by establishing the actuality of the divine or the Holy. They take as it were a step into theology" (1973 : 49).

This leads to the crucial question as to whether there is an objectifiable "Other" we can measure. If we consider the sense of "Otherness" reported by people to be an encounter with a

"real" supernatural being, there is no possible way to objectify it. On the other hand, the encounter with 'Otherness" following my definition, can refer to "dimensions of reality *beyond* ordinary sensate reality." This is within the range of investigation by the social sciences. We know, for instance, a whole range of photo-electric phenomena (such as x-rays) have a profound impact on our lives, even though we cannot see them. A social system without mechanisms to make this phenomenon understandable to its members will either have no conceptual system for it or will attribute quantum effects to the realm of "Otherness." Religious language refers consistently to invisible forces beyond the range of ordinary sense perceptions. Thus, while "Otherness" itself is beyond scientific measurement, it is feasible to explore the reported experience of "Otherness." The experience of "Other" planes of being than those revealed by ordinary sense perceptions is a cultural universal found in mystic visions throughout the world. It is found also in the religious experiences of non-mystics who express the transformations of their humdrum lives when penetrated by the "Other." Thus, it is imperative to discover a route of access to this dimension of the religious life if we are to establish a valid scientific approach to the comparative study of religion.

In the following section three fields of research will be surveyed to develop a point of departure for the study of religious experience. Special attention will be given to empirical studies of religion conducted by psychologists, anthropologists and historians of religion. The limitations of materialistic empiricism will be discussed along with suggestions for a new scientific approach to the study of religious experience.

EMPIRICAL STUDIES OF RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

Empirical studies of religious experience often distort the subject of inquiry by imposing rigorous experimental models

of measurement. This results in stilted, even misleading descriptions of religious experience, often described as mere epiphenomena of more "real" variables (such as chemical changes in the blood, brainwaves, social class, etc). This "primitive" type of empiricism needs to be challenged. A more sophisticated type of empirical approach must be developed if we ever expect to understand complex human phenomena like religious experience.

The major assumption of empiricism is that *experimentation and observation through sensory experience are the only true sources of knowledge.* Since data on phenomena like dreams, fantasies and religious experience are composed largely of idiosyncratic reports made by individuals, it is difficult to attain objectifiable measures of reliability or validity. This problem is due partially to poor methods developed by social scientists to gain access to this kind of subjective data; a problem that can be partly resolved by improving methodologies. As research interests shift away from rigid Behaviorism more to this domain the problem of method should be reduced significantly. However, a more incidious problem persists. Even with excellent tests for reliability and validity, non-concrete data (like dreams, fantasies, images, and emotions which are the currency of reported religious experiences) remain suspect because they are not easy to calibrate due to their incorporeal, fleeting, and "intangible" nature. Nevertheless, these vital dimensions of the human condition must not be ignored. As the social and behavioral sciences become increasingly bogged down in the study of minutia a new wave of scholars have begun the difficult task of reconstructing the very assumptions which have led us down this deadend road. Data on topics like religious experience are gaining attention once again. This time, however, the rampant reductionism of twentieth-century science is being questioned. Perhaps one of the most central problems is housed in the very definition of empiricism itself.

Could it be that empiricism need not be imprisoned by a naive materialist worldview ? The social and behavioral sciences have become locked in a conception of empiricism permeated with "materialist bias." This problem was resolved long ago by physical scientists, especially in the field of atomic physics. Paradoxically the social sciences have imitated the physical sciences by constantly imposing rigorous controls and statistical methodologies on data. Unfortunately we have neglected to observe the break with a narrow materialistic empirical approach. Observations of astrophysical phenomena through direct sensory input are becoming increasingly rare in chemistry, physics, and astronomy. As we penetrate deeper into the secrets of the phenomenal universe, empirical measures derived from direct sensory sources become less plausible. We are studying "invisible phenomena"—such as atomic structure, the curvature of space, the effects of gravitation—and none of these can be directly measured. Thus we are forced to rely increasingly on secondary, even tertiary levels of observation (such as elaborate mathematical formulas, traces of invisible phenomena on visible media, computer simulations, etc.). A clear precedent has been set in the physical sciences for the investigation of phenomena from an empirical point of view that has been disengaged from the limitations of pure materialism.

The sad attempt by social scientists to provide themselves with legitimacy by aping an outdated conception of physical science has resulted in a travesty of deadend research which has created a vacuous and hollow understanding of human nature. Yet, as we shall see in the following survey, some threads of value can be salvaged from the rubble that is the fall out of a narrow materialism. Some of the research on religious experience has been creative and insightful despite the overall suffocating climate of reductionism. These threads can be woven into a new approach to the scientific study of religious experience.

1. The Psychology of Religion :

An extensive twenty-five-year survey of publication trends in the psychology of religion conducted by Capps (1976) reveals some interesting trends. All major books and journals in the field were analysed to detect frequency of publication in different topics, like ritual, myth, social and experiential aspects of religion. Only ten percent of the articles were concerned with religious experience. One reason for this low percentage of coverage is the difficulty of operationalizing the topic. While research methods in other subtopics related to the psychology of religion have thrived, studies of religious experience remained " ......too global to employ meaningfully" as a line of inquiry (*Ibid* : 24).

Religious experience was a hot topic among psychologists at the turn of the century and until the early 1930's. At that time the whole study of imaginative experience (including dreams and fantasy) was popular. When Behaviorism became increasingly central as a paradigm for the general field of psychology, interest in religious experience declined until it reached its lowest level in the 1950's. There was a modest upswing during the period 1960-64. Then from 1965 to 1969, for a brief four years, publications on religious experience doubled and gradually declined in the 1970's. This second wave of interest in the topic during the 1960's can be attributed to the widespread use of mind altering drugs to produce "mystical experiences". At that time there was extensive research on the effects of LSD, Mescalin, and other psychedelic drugs. In the 1980's there has been an increased interest in the topic, partially related to the gradual recession of the dominant position of Behaviorism which has held sway for nearly fifty years and the concomitant emergence of topics like imagery which were virtually abandoned for many years.

Despite sporadic interest in religious experience it continues to receive little attention among psychologists. In 1973

Walter Houston Clark noted what he called a"......shameful neglect of religious experience by psychologists and religious scholars alike" (1973 : 3). He attributed this neglect to three factors : (1) less emphasis on evangelism and conversion (2) the western stress on reason, and (3) the "cult of privacy" which made religious experience difficult for investigators to study, due to shame and fear about sharing such information (*Ibid* : 6-9). Also, it should be noted religious experience is a field of inquiry that does not lend itself easily to experimentation. Since contemporary psychology tends to avoid a naturalist approach in favour of the ubiquitous experimental paradigm, religious experience attracts little attention

Frequently, in the early years, questionnaires were employed by psychologists to study religious attitudes. These yielded poor results and were quickly abandoned. As early as 1916 George Coe (Clark, 1973 : 15) used hypnosis to probe the domain of religious experience. Also he rigged up attendants at communion with galvanometers. (These results were never reported in the literature). Interest in the physiological component of religious experience continues to thrive today. New research using biofeedback, alpha rhythms, and yoga are yielding interesting, though controversial results. Unfortunately there are no extensive studies of phenomena like possession trance by psychologists, which could be either induced in a laboratory setting and studied electroencephalographically or in the context of real ceremonies utilizing small EEG devices which would allow for freedom of movement (Walker 1972:23).

Four main approaches to the study of religious experience are evident in the psychology of religion literature,including: (1) the collector tradition, (2) attribution theory, (3) drugs and the unconscious (depth psychology), and (4) parapsychology.[1]

The *Collector tradition* begins with William James' famous Gifford Lectures delivered at the turn of the century at the

University of Edinburgh and subsequently published in *The Varieties of Religious Experience.* This classic work has been unsurpassed. Despite its heavy reliance on anecdotal reports of religious experiences collected among famous mystics and patients, the philosophical issues that underscore this work remain vital today. Unfortunately this anecdotal approach is not capable of generating the kinds of research necessary to advance the scientific study of religious experience; a problem due to the failure of James (and others who have followed) to develop a methodology for gaining access to this domain of religious phenomenology.

Sir Alister Hardy (1975) of Manchester, England takes the anecdotal reportage of religious experience to its extreme. Similar to many marginal people who claim to be psychologists of religion, Hardy has converted from his early role as a biologist to that of a pioneer in the study of religious experience. This eighty-year old marine biologist has decided to gather as many reports of religious experience as possible to demonstrate that religion is "as important as sex." A self-appointed Kinsey of religious experience, Sir Hardy received 400 responses to an advertisement placed in various British journals calling for testimonial data. A positive first response encouraged Hardy to broadcast his interest in reports of religious experience on the BBC and in the London Times. The result was 4,000 "specimens" (Hardy had trouble abandoning nineteenth-century biological terminology). Using these data Hardy established an Institute to study and classify religious experiences. He found nine basic elements people consider to be religious; such as cognitive experiences, ecstatic dreams, trance phenomena, etc. (Cohen, 1974 : 196). Unfortunately Hardy's categories of religious experience are useless; they yield no insights into the nature of the phenomenon and represent an outdated classificatory approach. Hardy is clearly a convinced Darwinian who treats religious experience like a nineteenth-century naturalist. The collector tradition is reminiscent of early anthropological approaches to folklore. Often the data (voluminous in scope)

swamped the collector, drowning out any successful analysis of the phenomenon in question, and rendering the whole effort beyond the pale of current theories generated for the study of religious behavior. This approach is doubtless a deadend and is not practised today. It reveals, however, an important insight that must not be overlooked : namely, the fact that profound religious experiences are widespread and *not* confined to a rare breed of unusual mystics. In the early 1970's this fact was established beyond any doubt at the University of Chicago Opinion Research Center where 1500 persons were given depth interviews; 36% of the samples reported having had a non-drug induced experience of being close to a "powerful force" that seemed to lift them out of themselves (Cohen, 1974 : 194).

Attribution theory suggests strong physiological changes may be assigned religious significance by religiously inclined individuals. The attribution approach to the study of religious experience is more contemporary than the collector tradition. Most attribution oriented research on religious experience originates in the 1970's. This approach is experimental in style, sophisticated with regard to relating the findings to parallel research on self-perception, emotions, and motivation generated in various branches of academic psychology, and represents a compromise between the extremes of humanistic psychology (often impotent in its inability to generate replicable research findings) *classical* Behaviorism (equally impotent, since beliefs or experiences were once considered impossible to study).

The significant contribution of attribution theory to the study of religious experience is its stress on the interpretive component (Proudfoot and Shaver, 1975). Attribution theory grows out of cognitive psychology. In this approach mystical conversions can be related to the changing cognitive processes of "labeling" and "interpreting" that occur in human physiology. Such *post hoc* accounts of religious experience are due to prescribed (or learned) cognitive orientations designed to

interpret subjective experiences. So far the attribution approach has *not* yielded much research, although it offers some promise. Its major drawback is a tendency towards reductionism; if attribution theorists insist religious experiences are *mere* cognitive epiphenomena based on more fundamental physiological changes taking place in the individual, then this methodology and theoretical orientation is redundant and leads nowhere. On the other hand, it is conceivable cognition is not derivative from biology, but an independent variable (or even more interesting a parallel variable). If this becomes the orientation of researchers utilizing attribution theory to study religious experience it will be a fruitful new direction of inquiry. At present there isn't sufficient research to know where the attribution approach will lead.

Numerous studies of mystical experience are related to attribution theory but represent a somewhat different genre. Included here are research projects designed by psychologists to study mysticism in terms of cognitive set and setting. These studies relate the individual's religious experience to various environmental conditions which alter his responses to stress. Isolation, wilderness experiences, and hypnotic susceptibility are considered important environmental variables that contribute to the manifestation of mystical phenomena. This work has been pioneered by Hood (1973, 1975 and 1977) who attempts to incorporate insights about religious experiences found in a broad ranging literature. Yet the methods employed are superficial. After reading the psychologic l literature on mystical experience it becomes clear the emphasis on "set" as a determinant of mystical experience reveals little about the experience itself. All this research culminates in elaborate devices to classify mystical experiences in various typological schemes determined by the intensity of the experience (Hood, 1973); a contribution that has not as yet reached any level of sophistication. Some of these typologies involve elaborate factor analysis procedures to determine the attributions of

religious experience as measured by psychological tests Margolis and Elifson, 1979).

One promising approach to the study of religious experience stems out of depth psychology, particularly research in the area of *drugs and the unconscious* and recently the more general topic of altered states of consciousness. An extensive body of psychological literature on the effects of drugs on mental disorders, dying patients, and college students emerged in the 1960's. Psilocybin, mescalin, LSD, and other hallucinogens provided ready access to what William James declared to be the root of religion the mystical experience. taking mind altering drugs under controlled experimental conditions have reported intense religious visions. Walter Houston Clark (1969), a pioneer in this field,administered LSD to a sample of 100 persons; he found that 76% reported an "experience of the holy" (61% to an intense degree). Most researchers have not probed deeply into the roots of the psychological processes at the core of such religious experiences.

Stanislav Grof (1976), a Jungian oriented Czechoslavakian psychiatrist is an exception. He has conducted extensive, well documented, studies of drugs and the unconscious. According to Grof the complex world of imagery elicited by drugs is " an uncharted territory of the human mind"(*Ibid* xvi). Our present research methods are inadequate to investigate this vital aspect of human experience. Grof has conducted over 12,000 hours of LSD sessions at Johns Hopkins University with Czechoslavakian and American subjects. Grof sketches out the preliminary contours for the cartography of the unconscious, drawing on anthropological data, the mystical schools of Hinduism, Jung's analytical psychology, and Maslow's notion of "peak experience."

Grof abserves four stages of religious experience among subjects administered LSD during several sessions. These

stages are associated with clusters of images, visions, emotions, and physical symptoms. The first phase is called the *abstract and aesthetic stage*. In this initial unfolding of altered consciousness the individual experiences intense animation of the visual field, marked by brilliant coloured shapes, geometrical designs, architectural patterns, and dynamic colour changes.

> With the eyes open, colours are typically very bright penetrating, and explosive. Everything seems to be in undulating movement, and inanimate objects are frequently described as coming to life. A very characteristic perceptual change is ornamentalization and geometrization of human faces, animals and objects (*Ibid* : 35).

Grof entitles the second stage *psychodynamic experiences* which is characteristically painful. Subjects typically experience birth pains, diseases, aging, death, and ego problems. Images of cadavers, cemeteries, and funerals are frequently reported. Much of the psychodynamic phase is related to individual personality conflicts; including the relieving of emotionally relevant events, vivid re-enactments of traumatic or pleasant childhood memories, and the dramatization of daydreams. The third stage Grof calls *perinatal experiences* (rebirth). First the individual enters a state of undisturbed intrauterine life, characterized by a feeling of calm and cosmic unity. This is followed by the beginning of contractions, then separation from the mother and frequently is accompanied by a sense of universal engulfment, along with visions of "no exit" or hell. Next the person is like a fetus passing through the birth canal. He typically reports visions of death, rebirth, struggle, and intense suffering. Then in the final separation from the mother, the subject experiences ego death, rebirth, and visions of expanding space. Grof observes some fascinating parallels here between the perinatal experiences reported by individuals

under the influence of mind altering drugs and cultures that construct elaborate ceremonies to elicit the same kinds of religious enlightenment. The final stage, called *transpersonal experiences* includes rather dramatic instances of precognition, clairvoyance, contact with ancestral spirits, identification with animals or plants, and extraplanetary consciousness. This last stage involves the enhancement of the ordinary senses and an expansion of consciousness, along with a sense of "Otherness."

Grof's work is significant because it concentrates on the detailed process of unfolding images in the drug experience. Despite his Jungian bias, Grof establishes an impressive body of supporting data to substantiate clear patterns in the imaginative process. Not everyone will be comfortable with his Jungian interpretations that tend to attribute these patterns to archetypal expressions of a "collective unconscious." Nevertheless, Grof's research reveals the enormous wealth of imaginary experience available to common people. Particularly striking are the fascinating correlations drawn by Grof between religious experiences induced by mind altering drugs and the classical mystical experiences found at the core of all religions.

The study of *altered states of consciousness* is a topic of increasing interest today. In 1969 Charles Tart published a landmark volume on the topic. For nearly ten years altered states remained relatively dormant as a focus of research. Today it has become one of several new avenues for the emergence of a post-Behaviorist era in psychology. Psychologists are attempting to analyze altered states of consciousness in laboratory settings, in terms of brain physiology, and in the context of meditation (Hooper 1982). Some of the most promising research has been conducted by Jerome Singer and Kenneth Pope (1978 & 1980) on imaginative experience. Here is a cautious but bold attempt by psychologists to explore a wide range of human imaginative experiences, incorporating a stream of consciousness perspective with depth psychology, cognitive psychology, and Asian

interpretations of consciousness. The research of Singer and Pope is primarily oriented around developing methods of psychotherapy utilizing the human imagination as a source of healing, integration and change. Bandler and Grinder (1975, 1976 & 1979) also have developed a form of therapy (called neuro-linguistic programming) employing the imagination as a mechanism for restructuring thoughts and experiences. Indeed, imagery appears to be the meeting place of several currents in psychology, opening a new potential which is as yet to be fully actualized. In the words of Joseph Shorr, President of the burgeoning American Association for the Study of Mental Imagery

> Imagery—the miraculous quality that human beings use to re-evoke and reorganize perceptions—is no longer considered idiosyncratic. It is an absolutely integral part of human development and motivation which gives substance to subjective meaning and realistic abstract thought..................To be aware of and to study the manifestations and complexity of waking imagery—which appears to function in an effortless, instantaneous and ubiquitous manner—is now considered a fit subject for study after a half century of denial (1980 v).

Clearly psychologists are on the brink of a revolution in thinking about imaginative experience. No longer is it a topic to be placed aside and ignored. The new research on mental imagery should be an important resource for the deeper understanding of religious experience.

Parapsychology is not a legitimate subfield of psychology, yet experiences of "Otherness" often involve phenomena that can be classified only as "extrasensory." For this reason it is valid to ask if anything valuable can be gleaned from the

many studies conducted in this field of inquiry. The literature on parapsychology is enormous, highly quantitative, and disappointing to the researcher who is seeking some insights about the interior processes occurring in religious or extrasensory experiences. This is largely due to the dominant influence of J. B. Rhine who has spent a lifetime defending his case for ESP in the hardnosed community of Behaviorists. During a personal interview with J. B. Rhine in 1977 his distrust of "subjective anecdotal reports" became clear. Unfortunately he has followed a course of investigation that overstresses quantification, neglecting deeper analysis of "paranormal" phenomena. His use of cards (circles, stars, and squares), along with other simplistic devices to measure extrasensory perception, is rather like attempting to study interplanetary space with a microscope. Consequently we cannot turn to the field of parapsychology, at least as it is presently constructed, for insights about religious experience.

2. **Religious Studies** Religion specialists have developed various phenomenological methods to study religious experience. Smart (1973 19 and 20) distinguishes between the older *metaphysical phenomenology* and a more recent *typological phenomenology*. In the case of metaphysical phenomenology the historian of religion attempts to reveal essences. This brand of phenomenology assumes an implicit metaphysics— the actual objective existence of a divinity or the "sacred" (Wach 1944; Otto 1923; and Eliade 1959). In the words of Brauer (1959 viii) the phenomenon of man as a religious being can only be properly investigated by assuming"......an attitude of respect and openness towards the religious reality itself as it is encountered in specific historical forms." By contrast, typological phenomenology makes no assumptions about the objective existence of the supernatural. It is purely a methodology aimed at developing procedures to get at the *meaning* for the participants of a religious act, symbol, or institution. Typological phenomenology relies on the imaginative participation of the religion specialist in the world of the actor (Smart 1973 20).

This approach attempts to be "value free," utilizing Husserl's "bracketing" to isolate phenomena and explore their meaning in context. Since the history of religions as a discipline has relied heavily on the work of linguists, anthropologists, sociologists and philosophers (Eliade 1959:93), the recent emergence of typological phenomenology promises original and interesting new research on the topic of religious experience. To-day historians of religion are conducting field work and attempting to incorporate socio-religious contexts in their studies of religious experience.

One particular area of interest is the use of phenomenological methods to study mysticism. The literature on mysticism reflects a rift of opinion about whether mysticism is identical with religious experience and available to common people or whether it is separate from religious experience and attainable only by a select elite (Ellwood 1980 : xi). There seems to be general agreement, however, that mystical experiences commonly involve a sense of "oneness with the cosmos" (Stace 1960 : 13-15). Typically this sense of "cosmic oneness" is accompanied by joyous illumination, powerful outpourings of love and rapture. Also widely reported, is the extraordinary ability of the mystic to apprehend *simultaneity* (Underhill 1961 239). Human consciousness unfolds in sequential succession—one event following another, one concept unfolding after another. Often during a mystical experience the individual describes a collapse of time so that past, present and future are experienced simultaneously. The same principle of simultaneity applies to the apprehension of space—a sense of being unified with the whole earth or cosmos. In each case, both time and space are collapsed; what would otherwise be experienced as separate, discrete phenomena become condensed in a simultaneity of experience which sweeps the mystic into a powerful altered state of consciousness.

Since humans do not grasp "ultimates" with ease (Smith 1976:58) the mind creates elaborate metaphors and

patterns of imagery to approximate deeper levels of confrontation with the "wholly Other." And though the cosmic imagination is limited, it is often the mystic's only way of bridging the gap between his ordinary experience of phenomenal existence and the eruption of a numinous world that dissolves form and shape.

The literature on mysticism generated by historians of religion remains relatively obscure. Mystical experience is abstracted from Great Tradition literature or a few articulate mystics, but this gives us no unique methodology to investigate the religious imagination shared by people at all levels of religious sophistication. Most phenomenological analysis neglects the inner experience of the individual, focussing instead on the symbolism projected by mystics in the classical literature associated with the Great World religions. While there can be no doubt that religious experience may be evoked by such structures, the interior experience of the mystic (or of the common person encountering the ineffable) remains virtually unexplored by the discipline of religious studies.

3. **The Anthropology of Religion** : Scattered throughout the vast literature on religion written by anthropologists are passing references to religious experience. Unfortunately little systematic and detailed study of the topic has as yet been completed in the context of field work. The increasing use of the phenomenological approach suggests promising possibilities. While sociologists have been about their usual business of sampling student populations and constructing classification schemes for various types of religious experience (Hay 197g : 164-182; Margolis and Elifson 1979 : 61-67), anthropologists have been content to treat this vital dimension of religion as a secondary focus of study. Thus, we have extensive descriptions of the religious experiences of particular technicians of the sacredlike shamans, priests, and poets-but little has been done with these data except as pure description within the larger context of a particular religious tradition.

Little research has been done by anthropologists on the religious experiences of the average devotee. Nor is there much deep analysis of religious experience in terms of how it comes about, its symbolic content, and associated transformations of consciousness.

Bharati's (1976) excellent discussion of the nature of mysticism is a rare exception. Here we have the beginnings of an anthropological approach to the study of religious experience. Bharati insists on distinguishing between genuine and fraudulent mystical experiences. His general focus is on Hinduism and the many Eastern brands of mysticism imported into America. He asserts that "genuine mysticism" is grounded in a disciplined tradition; it cannot be invented independently by the individual. Also, interesting is Bharati's insistence that the core of mysticism is a "zero-experience" empty of any cognitive content. There has been so little anthropological research on mysticism it is difficult to know how to interpret or test Bharati's stimulating and worthwhile commentaries on the topic in the context of field work.

An even less explored dimension of the encounter with "Otherness" is in the realm of extrasensory perception. Anthropologists have set this topic aside, despite invitations by parapsychologists anxious for cross-cultural testing among non-Western subjects. Long ago Sir James Frazer (1967) linked telepathy with magic and trance. Occasionally anthropologists have noted psi phenomena (Firth 1967; Prince 1967), but there are no systematic anthropological studies using conventional ESP cards on non-Western populations (Some experimental work has been done on psi phenomena among Australian Aborigines by parapsycho'ogists. See Rose and Rose 1951; Rose 1952, 1955 and 1956). The major reason for this lack of attention to so called "paranormal" experiences is the inability to explain such phenomena in terms of prevailing scientific theories. Parapsychologist Van De Castle asks anthropologists to set aside culturally engrained biases against

psi phenomena in order to study extrasensory perception in non-Western contexts.

> It is to be hoped that anthropologists will become sensitized to the important contribution they could make to our understanding of the psi process by undertaking investigations in the field to assess the validity of the psychic claims made by shamans, witchcraft practitioners, diviners, and so on (1976 116).

A conference on anthropology and parapsychology was held in London during 1973. This international gathering of parapsychologists and anthropologists yielded a collection of articles on a wide variety of paranormal experiences reported in various cultural contexts (Angoff and Barth 1974). While this volume does not appear to have set off a flurry of research projects on the cross-cultural study of psychic phenomena it raises some interesting methodological issues of central concern. The problem encountered with studying paranormal phenomena is similar to difficulties associated with the investigation of religious experience; namely, how to study personal subjective experiences. Fantasy, dream, imagination, myth, etc., fall in the same category. These phenomena have no material referent that can be observed directly. It is critical that we find viable methods for investigating these various subjective phenomena if we are to comprehend human nature. Anthropologists have made some inroads into the understanding of religious experience in one general subfield of investigation — the study of altered states of consciousness.

Most anthropologists have avoided Jungian assertions about a universal symbolism in the human psyche. However, altered states of consciousness induced by drugs seem to provide evidence for transcultural experiences with strikingly similar imagery. Furst (1976 : 50-56) invokes Jung's controversial term "archetype" to refer to these powerful common themes

running throughout religious experiences induced by hallucinogens. "There is a distinct possibility that harmaline and other alkaloids are biochemically involved in the formation of what Jung called archetypes" (*Ibid* : 50). Extraordinary religious experiences with strong extrasensory overtones are reported among different South American Indian cultures who take *yage* (banisteriopsis), including : separation of the soul from the body in a mystical flight, vivid visions of snakes and jaguars, visions of demons and deities, and clairvoyant sensations of seeing distant persons, cities, and landscapes (Harner 1973 : 154-194). Even more fascinating is Naranjo's (1973a) study of the effects of the same drug (*yage*) when administered to thirty-five white residents of Santiago, Chile. Naranjo found that crocodiles, leopards, and jaguars were seen by most of the subjects (animals not existing in Chile). Also reported were visions of the Virgin Mary and the devil. How is it possible to account for the frequent appearances of black people and unfamiliar wild animals in the visionary experiences of these white urban Chileans ? Naranjo is convinced these images" invite us to regard some shamanistic conceptions more as the expression of universal experiences than in terms of acculturation to local traditions" (1973a : 190). This rather controversial finding requires further research to be validated.

Altered states of consciousness are not always associated with mind altering drugs. They may be evoked deliberately through repetitive rituals, sleeplessness, fasting, music, and many other methods, or they may happen spontaneously. Such trance phenomena occur in 90 percent of human societies. Anthropologists have developed an extensive literature on ecstatic manifestations of religion. Much of this literature is concerned with correlating possession trance with culture change (Bourguignon 1973,) marginal social status (Lewis 1971), and the healing of mental disorders associated with trance phenomenon. Very little anthropological research has penetrated deeply into the internal psychological processes involved in the experience of religious ecstacy. A notable

exception is Walker's (1972) brilliant study of spirit possession in Africa. This little known landmark goes beyond ethnographic description, penetrates to the heart of possession trance and utilizes insights from psychology as well as the biological sciences. Walker eschews the narrow descriptive approach to the study of religious experience. She argues convincingly that no explanatory framework is adequate to explain possession phenomena. "Possession has been misunderstood in the past because researchers did not examine the neurophysiological and hypnotic infrastructures" (*Ibid* : 1). Walker explores the core process in possession trance where the devotee internalizes the "god image."

Walker's attention to the internal image as a carrier of the "Other" is an important breakthrough in the study of religious experience. Recent research in aesthetic anthropology explores the phenomenological nature of religious art. Armstrong (1981) notes the "affecting presence" of African sculpture that must be understood, not in terms of Western imposed categories of beauty, symmetry, or harmony, but as a medium for enacting the interaction between humans and their ancestors. The significant thrust of this new approach in anthropology is its insight that the "affecting presence" of a seemingly static piece of religious art (a sacred image for instance) has the power to be in the world, not just as a representation of something else, but as a being of its own volition.

> The work of affecting presence—sharing psychological processes with persons—sometimes seems as much to apprehend its witness as its witness apprehends it. This phenomenon is especially apparent in the instance of a danced mask. I myself have felt scrutinized to my essence, turned nearly into an object before the insistent confrontations of a mask danced (*Ibid* : 16).

Thus, through the study of the process of constructing sacred images we can gain access to the religious experience of a people. Imagination is the chief mechanism by which human beings come in contact with what they conceive to be reality. As long as we are willing to treat the human encounter with "Otherness" as a valid locus of research, there is no reason why the anthropology of religion should ignore, or in any way shun, the study of religious experience. It is not necessary to go as far as Lowie who says : "......I treat the mystic experience as a datum of objective reality" (1952 : v). However, using Freud's notion of primary process to understand how the imaginary experience of "Otherness" operates in the human condition we can enter into the deepest regions of human aspiration. Through the understanding of symbolic behavior, using a synoptic methodology, we can begin to fathom the nature of religious experience. In the words of Melford Spiro : "If symbolic behavior is even half as important as Freud suggested, symbolic anthropology is the custodian of the richest of all the mines which are worked by the science of man" (Hook 1979 : 1).

TOWARDS A SYNOPTIC METHODOLOGY.

The disciplines reviewed here have treated religious experience, for the most part, as a peripheral, rather than central problem of inquiry. While materialism and reductionism have flourished, producing important contributions to the study of religion, they have also managed to distract researchers from the core experiential dimension of the phenomenon. Yet, there has not been a total eclipse. We have seen several individuals in different disciplines attempting to break out of the yoke of the reductionist tradition which everywhere abides. The framework suggested by the studies of religious experience which have been successful must include insights generated in more than one discipline. Thus, I am advocating a "poly-methodic approach" rooted in the disciplines of anthropology, psychology, art history, religious studies and comparative

literature. Such a methodology must be anchored firmly in a combination of empirical and phenomenological perspectives. Hanford (1975) calls this a "synoptic" mode of inquiry for the study of religious experience. The synoptic approach accepts the inner personal experiences of individuals and seeks new, creative methods for observing and measuring this interiorized form of behavior (*Ibid* : 224) The synoptist is convinced that phenomenological concepts can be tested empirically.

How can that be accomplished ? The answer lies, at least partially, in concepts and methods developed among depth psychologists and in the field of comparative literature. The key is the *image* of the "wholly Other" operative in religious experience. As expressed by Octavio Paz : "The Image is the key to the human condition" (1973 : 85). Thus, we are challenged to find a method for gaining access to this level of experience. In Freud's work on the unconscious we have some insights on the human capacity to create powerful images of a rich personal, often idiosyncratic inner world. This private world of imagery, however, has its public component because images are heavily shaped by cultural variables derived from organized formal religious institutions. Images of transcendance are always a mix of personal idiosyncratic and publicly derived exercises of the imagination. These images and complexes of images are like bridges into a world of meaning, inexpressible by means of ordinary verbal language. The depth psychologist Ira Progoff expresses this point succinctly :

> It is the inner experiences of each of us that holds the key to our understanding of man both as an individual person and as a human being in history (1953 : xviii).

This stream of consciousness is accessible through the study of dreams, delirium, hypnosis, the creative imagination, and other altered states of consciousness. Nor is the imaginative world in opposition to the so-called "real world out there"

since everything in the world is a flow of phantasms, a "magic lantern show" we view through inner images (Smith 1976:70). This imaginative world is created out of the building blocks provided by sense impressions. While there are limitations to the human imagination, it is the only instrument we possess by which it is possible to explore the mysterious "Other" dimension we grasp intuitively only on rare occasions.

The truth about the inner religious life is found in what I call the realm of "fictive reality." The myriad images we construct impose an order in an otherwise chaotic world. Fictive reality does not refer to "falsehoods" about the world in which we live, but rather it points to a larger reality (as in the case of mythic systems). Such fictions are consciously false at one level but partially true at another. "It is not that we are connoisseurs of chaos, but that we are surrounded by it, and equipped for co-existence with it only by our fictive powers" (Kermode 1967:64). No doubt "fictive reality" has played a significant role in the religious insights generated by the founders of the world's great religions.

> The poet and the mystic regard the imagery of a revelation as a fiction through which an insight into the depths of being—one's own being and being generally– is conveyed analogically (Campbell 1972 : 265).

Fictive reality requires a powerful exercise of the imagination and forms a cornerstone for the interior religious life in virtually every religious tradition throughout the world. Both self and cosmos are revealed in fictive reality. This is illustrated beautifully in Leinhardt's (1961) classic study of Dinka religion. Dinka images of divinity allow for the conscious separation of subject and object. For the Dinka sacred images help people to explain their human condition. Such fictive realities link together, placing into a clear set of relationships, the world of the ancestors and the suffering that is believed to be an

inevitable part of life. The divine image in Dinka culture operates as a source of experience through which people identify as members of a single community with one original ancestor created by a single Creator (*Ibid* : 157).

The best way to attain access to this inner dimension of religious experience is through the creative imagination. We are *homo symbolicus.* The interior world of images we generate as human beings are in a dynamic counterpoint with the elaborate cultural systems that operate in the external world. Symbols and images are capable of expressing the paradox and uncertainty of that greater reality which transcends the domain of everyday life (Eliade 1959 : 88). Religious imagery arches above and penetrates through to the very depths of our being in the world. The human imagination is capable of pressing against the thin cultural membrane we weave about us to form that cocoon which gives us a certain degree of order and security in the cosmos. Such images go beyond—as Bachelard (1971 : 15) expresses it, "images sing reality." Religious imagery and reverie (which is the free flow of such imagery) are somewhere between fantasy or wish fulfillment and concrete experiential reality resulting from sensate feedback systems.

CONCLUSION :

A survey of empirical studies on religious experience reveals few insights about the phenomenon. Either we should abandon empiricism or redefine it for better use in the study of human phenomena. The synoptic approach advanced in this paper is an attempt to move in the direction of a less rigid concept of empiricism. If phenomena like dreams, visions, and fantasies defy reduction into static formulas it is incumbant upon us to discover the dynamic principles operating in these various forms of "fictive reality." Through a wedding of empiricism and phenomenology it is possible to discover the fundamental principles operative at the core of human imaginative experience

and then to define and elaborate an anthropology of imaginative experience which can be used as a cornerstone for a deeper penetration into our overall understanding of human nature and culture.*

* (Published with the permission of Editor Mentalities/ Mentalites, Untrigger Publishers, P.O.Box 13-049, Hamilton, Newzealand).

References :

1. Angoff, Allan and Barth, Diana, eds. *Parayspchology and Anthropology.* Parapsychology Foundation, New York, 1974.

2. Armstrong, Robert Plant. *The Powers of Presence Consciousness, Myth and Affecting Presence.* University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1981.

3. Bachelard, Gaston. *On Poetic Imagination and Reverie.* Translated by Claudette Gandin. Bobbs-Merrill and Co. New York, 1971.

4. Bandler, Richard and Grinder, John. *Frogs into Princes : Neuro Linguistic Programming.* Real People Press, Moab, Utah, 1979.

5. *The Structure of Magic I.* Science and Behavior Books, Palo Alto, Calif., 1975.

6. *The Structure of Magic II.* Science and Behavior Books, Palo Alto, Calif., 1976.

7. Bharati, Agehananda. *The Light at the Center.* Ross-Erikson Publishers, Santa Barbara, California, 1976.

8. Bourguignon, Erika. "Introduction : A Framework for the Comparative Study of Altered States of Consciousness."

Religion, Altered States of Consciousness, and Social Change. Edited by Erika Bourguignon. Ohio University Press, Columbus, 1973, 3-35.

9. Brauer, Jerald C. "Preface." *The History of Religions : Essays in Methodology.* Edited by Mircea Eliade and Joseph Kitagawa. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1959, vii-x.

10. Capps, Donald, Ransohoff, Paul and Rambo, Lewis. "Publication Trends in the Psychology of Religion to 1974." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion,* 15 (1) (1976) : 15-28.

11. Clark, Walter Houston. *Chemical Ecstacy Psychedelic Drugs and Religion.* Sheed and Ward, New York, 1969.

12. Clark, Walter Houston; Maloney, H. N.; Dean, James; and Tippett, Alan R. *Religious Experience Its Nature and Function in the Human Psyche.* Charles C. Thomas Publisher, Springfield, Illinois, 1973.

13. Cohen, Daniel, *The Far Side of Consciousness.* Dodd, Mead and Co., New York, 1974.

14. Collins, John J. *Primitive Religion.* Littlefield, Adams and Co., Totowa, New Jersey, 1978.

15. Devereux, George. "Fantasy and Symbol as Dimensions of Reality." *Fantasy and Symbol : Studies in Anthropological Interpretation.* Edited by R. H. Hook. Academic Press, New York, 1979, 19-31.

16. Eliade, Mircea. "Methodological Remarks on the Study of Religious Symbolism." *The History of Religions : Essays in Methodology.* Edited by Mircea Eliade and Joseph Kitagawa. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1959, 86-107.

17. Ellwood, Robert S. *Mysticism and Religion.* Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1980.

18. Firth, Raymond. *Tikopia Ritual and Belief.* Beacon Press, Boston, 1967.

19. Frazer, James. *The Golden Bough.* (Abridged Edition). Macmillan, New York, 1967.

20. Furst, Peter. *Hallucinogens and Culture.* Chandler and Sharp Publishers, San Francisco, 1976.

21. Geertz, Clifford. "Religion as a Cultural System." *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion.* Edited by Michael Harner. Tavistock Publications, London, 1966, 1-46.

22. Grof, Stanislov. *Realms of the Human Unconscious.* E. P. Dutton, New York, 1976.

23. Hallowell, A. L. *The Role of Conjuring in Saulteaux Society.* University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1942.

24. Hanford, Jack T. "A Synoptic Approach Resolving Problems in Empirical and Phenomenological Approaches to the Psychology of Religion." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion,* 14 (3) (1975) : 219-227.

25. Hardy, Sir Alister. *The Biology of God.* Taplinger Publishing Co., New York, 1975.

26. Harner, Michael J. "Common Themes in South American Indian Yage Experiences." *Hallucinogens and Shamanism.* Edited by Michael J. Harner. Oxford University Press, London, 1973, 154-194.

27. Hay, David. "Religious Experience Amongst a Group of Post-Graduate Students : a Qualitative Study." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion,* 18 (2) (1979) ; 164-182.

28. Hood, Ralph W. "The Construction and Preliminary Validation of a Measure of Reported Mystical Experience" *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion,* 14 (1975) : 29-41.

29. ...."Eliciting Mystical States of Consciousness with Semi-structured Nature Experiences." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 16 (2) (1977) 155-163.

30. .... "Religious Orientation and the Experience of Transcendence." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 12 (4) (1973) : 441-448.

31. Hook, R. H. "Introduction." *Fantasy and Symbol : Studies in Anthropological Interpretation.* Edited by R. H. Hook. Academic Press, New York, 1979a, 1-9.

32. .... "Phantasy and Symbol A Psychoanalytic Point of View." *Fantasy and Symbol Studies in Anthropological Interpretation.* Edited by R. H. Hook. Academic Press, New York, 1979b, 267-2 1.

33. Hooper, Judith. "Mind Tripping." *Omni* (Oct. 1982) 72-160.

34. James, William. *The Varieties of Religious Experience.* Collier Books, New York, 1961.

35. Kermode, John Frank. *The Sense of an Ending : Studies in the Theory of Fiction.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1967.

36. Leinhardt, Godfrey. *Divinity and Experience : The Religion of the Dinka.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1961.

37. Lewis, I. M. *Ecstatic Religion.* Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, England, 1971.

38. Lowie, Robert H. *Primitive Religion.* Peter Owen Limited, London, 1952.

39. Margolis, Robert D. and Elifson, Kirk W. "A Typology of Religious Experience." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 18 (1) (1979) : 61-67.

40. Naranjo, Claudio. *The Healing Journey.* Random House, New York, 1973a.

41. .... "Psychological Aspects of the Yage Experience." *Hallucinogens and Shamanism.* Edited by Michael J. Harner. Oxford University Press, London, 1973b, 176-190.

42. Otto, Rudolph. *The Idea of the Holy.* Trans. by John W. Harvey. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1923.

43. Paz, Octavio. *The Bow and the Lyre.* Trans. by Ruth Simms. University of Texas Press, 1973.

44. Prince, Raymond. "Infa : A West African Divination Technique". *International Journal of Parapsychology,* 9 (1967) : 141-144.

45. Progoff, Ira. *Jung's Psychology and Its Social Meaning.* Second Edition. Anchor Books, New York, 1953.

46. .... *The Symbolic and the Real.* McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1963. Proudfoot, Wayne and Shaver, Phillip. "Attribution Theory and the Psychology of Religion." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion,* 14 (4) (1975) : 317-330.

47. Pruyser, Paul W. "Lessons from Art Theory for the Psychology of Religion." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion,* 15 (1) (1976) : 1-14.

48. Rhine, Louisa. *Hidden Channels of the Mind.* William Morrow and Co., New York, 1961.

49. Rose, L. and Rose, Ronald. "Psi Experiments with Australian Aborigines." *Journal of Parapsychology,* 15 (1951) : 122-131.

50. Rose, Ronald. "Experiments in ESP and PK with Aboriginal Subjects." *Journal of Parapsychology,* 16 (1952) 219-220.

51. .... "A Second Report on Psi Experiments with Australian Aborigines." *Journal of Parapsychology,* 19 (1955) : 92-98.

52. .... *Living Magic : The Realities Underlying the Psychical Practices and Beliefs of Australian Aborigines.* Rand McNally, New York, 1956.

53. Shorr, Joseph E; Sobel, Gail E.; Pennee, Robin and Connella, A. *Imagery : Its Many Dimensions and Applications.* Plenum Press. New York, 1980.

54. Singer, Jerome L. and Pope, Kenneth S , eds. *The Power of Human Imagination.* Plenum Press, New York, 1980.

55. ....*The Stream of Consciousness.* Plenum Press, New York, 1978.

56. Smart, Ninian. *The Science of Religion and the Sociology of Knowledge.* Princeton University Press, 1973.

57. Smith, Huston. *Forgotten Truth.* Harper and Row, New York, 1976.

58. Stace, Walter T. *The Teachings of the Mystics.* New American Library, New York, 1960.

59. Tart, Charles, ed. *Altered States of Consciousness.* Doubleday and Co., Garden City, New York, 1969.

60. Underhill, Evelyn. *Mysticism.* E. P. Dutton, New York, 1961.

61. Van de Castle, Robert L. "Psi Abilities in Primitive Groups." In *Surveys in Parapsychology.* Edited by Rhea A. White. The Scarecrow Press, Metuchen, New Jersey, 1976.

62. Wach, Joachim. *Sociology of Religion.* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1944.

63. Walker, Sheila S. *Ceremonial Spirit Possession in Africa and Afro-America.* E. J. Brill, Leiden, the Netherlands, 1972.

Rai Ramananda and his Bengali Writings

—Dr. Bishnupada Panda

Way back in 1974 I came across two manuscripts (MSS.) (B-118, B-141) in the Manuscript Section of the Orissa State Museum (OSM). I took out the copies but was not quite sure if these were genuine compositions or writings of lesser poets attributed to Rai Ramananda. Such cases were not few during the early medieval period and quite naturally I was a little bit hesitant to edit these works for publication. These were written in Oriya script on palm-leaf but the language was Bengali.

Ramananda is well-known as the author of *Jagannathballava Natakam*, language of which is an admixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit. It is a musical playlet containing twenty-one songs. There are five acts and three principal characters—Krishna, Radha and Madanika. There are of course five other minor characters in the drama. The acts are indicative of Sri Radha's love episode with Sri Krishna and its gradual development. This playlet established Rai Ramananda as a poet of unique gift and creative talent.

Haridas Das, the editor of *Gaudiya Vaisnava Abhidhan* has made a mention of another literary piece produced by Rai Ramananda. It is *Kshudrageeta Prabanda*.[1] It is mentioned by this editor that a colophon in this work runs as—*Jayatu Rudra Ganesha Mudita Ramanda Kavirayakavigeetam*. Dr. Sukumar Sen has mentioned yet another piece of work by Rai Ramananda entitled *Marmanirupana*.[2] But none of these works have been seen in print, except probably in their manuscript form. These are composed in Sanskrit.

Ramananda is believed to have been born during the later half of the fifteenth century and died few years after the demise of Sri Chaitanya. He worked as a provincial governor under the King Prataprudradeva (1497-1540) of Orissa and was regarded to have great influence on the King. His scholarship was rated highly even by Sarbabhauma Bhattacharya—one of the top ranking Vedantists of his age. Krishnadas Kaviraj says in his *Chaitanya Charitamrita* (*Madhya Leela*) that when Sri Chaitanya expressed to Sarbabhauma his own desire to go to the southern states of India and meet Vaishnava scholars there, the latter requested the former fervently to meet and discuse his particular religious tenets with Rai Ramananda on his way to south. Sri Chaitanya followed this advice and his meeting and discussions with Rai Ramananda on the banks of river Godavari found an elaborate description in *Chaitanya Charitamrita.*

Some scholars of the early twentieth century believed that besides Sanskrit, Rai Ramananda composed verses in Bengali or Brajabuli also. Some were of course opposed to this idea and they even disbelieved that the famous song '*pohilahi raga nayanabhanga bhela*' was written by Rai Ramananda. For example, S.K. De wrote in his book *Vaisnava Faith and Movement,* "The absurdity is carried not only to the length and attributing a Bengali (or rather Brajabuli) song, to Ramananda, but also the citation by Ramananda......".[3] Unfortunately this writer has not cared to put forward his arguments which led him to reject this song, included in Ramananda's playlet, as to have been composed by him. Did he think that it was impossible for the poets of Orissa of the medieval period to write poems in Bengali or Brajabuli ?

During the first half of the eighteenth century Radhamohan Thakur, a direct discendant of Srinibas Acharya, prepared an anthology of 301 Vaishnava Padas which is known as *Padamrita Samudia.* Apart from the *pahilahi raga* of Rai Ramananda, Radhamohan has included three verses purported to have been composed by Champati Roy, a poet from Orissa. In introducing

this poet, the compiler writes, *'Sri Gaurachandrabhaktah Sri Prataparudra maharajasya mahapatrah Champatiroynama mahabhagavat asit, sa eba geetakarta'.*[4] Satischandra Roy has said that Sri Chaitanya's residing in Orissa for a pretty long time, frequenting of Bengali devotees and propagating *Samkirtana* in Brajabuli and Bengali made it abundantly possible for the Orissan poets to try their hand in these languages.[5] Any way it is no longer a debatable subject whether Orissan poets did write in Bengali or Brajabuli. In fact they did write and write quite a lot with a masterly ease and felicity. Three of such works have already been published and two of them by the University of Calcutta in recent years.[6] Interested readers may also glance through my book *Orissan Culture - an Unknown Profile* (Bookland International, 1987) where this subject has been discussed in greater detail.

Prof. Priyaranjan Sen had a strong conviction that there are compositions of Rai Ramananda written in Bengali and he was painstakingly searching for MSS. Finally and fortunately he could collect a MS. through Pundit Suryanarain Das, a reputed scholar of Orissa. As usual it was a palm-leaf manuscript and the script was Oriya.

It has been our experience that all the Orissan poets, from the late sixteenth century to early nineteenth, who tried their hand in Bengali and Brajabuli, used Oriya script. It c early indicates that they did not have any formal education in Bengali although they were masters in all other skills of the language except writing, which is undeniably a complicated process. The reading clientele of these poets consisted of Oriyas and the script helped them to comprehend Bengali poems without any difficulty.

The MS. collected by Professor Sen contained a Kavya entitled *Dandatmik Leela.* He took thirty long years to come to the final decision to publish it. The reasons which made him hesitant were precisely—

1) The language is modern Bengali and some Oriya words are thrown in here and there.

2) The poetic diction indicates the post-Chaitanya age of Bengali poetry. The particular type of trivet metre has been used in the seventeenth century and not before that.

3) The topic, *dandatmik leela* (Sri Krishna's romantic dalliance with Sri Radha during different parts of the day) is quite an uncommon theme.

4) There are occasional quotations from *Govindaleelamrita* of Krishnadas Kaviraj—which was composed during the seventeenth century

Professor Sen finally decided to get it published under the title, *Roy Ramanander Bhanitayukta Padavali* or verses with the name of Rai Ramananda in their colophon. It was published in 1945. Professor Sen spared no pains to discuss with Vaisnava scholars and go through relevant records before he took the final decision.

I was also holding the MSS (B-118 & 141) since 1974 and had some doubts about their authenticity. In the meantime, Prof. K.C. Sahu, Head of the Department of Oriya, Utkal University, Published a long Bengali poem consisting of thirty-six lines in a Journal *Sri Hari Samkirtan* in 1977 published from Cuttack. This poem also contained the name of Rai Ramananda in its colophon, as—

Astanayaker nandi jemani lakshman,
Roy Ramananda bhaje jugal charan.

(This prologue by Ray Ramananda describes the eight attributes of a hero and the poet pays obeisance to the Lord).

Some of my doubts about the authorship of the MSS I had with me were dispelled by now. Answer to all the four points mentioned earlier were found out and they are as follows—

i) The language of the MSS we have in the OSM has been invariably brushed up by the subsequent copyists—a practice commonly noticed in copies everywhere. But this change of language has never stood in the way of accepting any MS as genuine and attributing its authorship to poets whose names occur in colophons. Verses attributed to the Bengali poets like Chandidas, Narahari Sarkar, Murari Gupta, Basudev Ghosh and a host of other poets, who were contemporaries of Sri Chaitanya, can be analysed to find out that the language used in many cases is absolutely modern. Some brief examples may be examined here—

a) *Soi Keba Sunailo Shyam nam.*
Kaner bhitar diya marame pasila go
akul karila mor pran. (Chandidas)

b) *Ki bhave Gouranga mor bhavita thake,*
Kshane kshane bhababese Radha boli dake
Jamunare mane pare Bhagirathi heri,
fulabone Brindaban bhabe mane kari. (Narahari)

c) *Chalila Nadiar lok Gouranga dekhite,*
age Sachi ar sabe chalila paschate. (Murari)

d) *Jay jay dhvani uthe Nadia nagare,*
Gora abhisek aji panditer ghare. (Basudev)

Oriya words scattered within the Bengali works of Oriya poets are, in most cases, ascribed to the habit of poets themselves who used them due to their not-too-strong Bengali vocabulary. In some cases, however, they have been found to have used them for maintaining metrical balance while in others to create variety. Of course, handiwork of the copyists can never be ruled out and this has also been proved beyond doubt when two or more copies of a particular MS have been compared carefully.

ii) A particular poetic diction or the trivet metre, in particular, has never been a distinguishing phenomenon of an

age. If someone cares to go through the *Padavalis* of the post-Chaitanya era and compares them with those of early sixteenth century, the poetic diction alone would never offer any distinctive clue, not even the trivet metre.

Interestingly, the MSS I have found out with the name of Rai Ramananda in their colophons do not have any verse composed in trivet metre. Other narratives do have it occasionally.

iii) Uniqueness of theme can hardly be accepted as a firm ground to dismiss a poet. In fact, my MSS too contain this *dandatmak leela* and go to strengthen our contention that Rai Ramananda did compose it himself on a novel plan. The whole of a day consists of sixty-four *dandas*, each comprises twenty-four minutes. The MSS in my possession show the theme of love dalliance of Radha-Krishna in thirty-two *dandas* or segments of a day. The story starts early in the morning and ends with the sun setting in the West. The beginning is—

nisanta samaye Shyam binodini laya,
Kunja mandire nidra alasita haya.
E heno samaye tay kukuta dakila,
Utha utha ohe nagar bihan haila.

(Towards the end of the night Shyam was sleeping with his beloved within a room in the arbour. At that time birds started chirping outside and it was apparent that the dawn was fast approaching and they should get up). The last verse is—

dvatringsha dande surya astamete gela,
godhan laiya Krishna gope prabesila.
nritya rasarange Krishna sakhagan lai,
dhire dhire chale Shyam bansuri bajai.

(During the thirty-second *danda* the sun set in the West and Krishna came back to Gopa with his cattle. He returned with his friends all the way dancing and playing on his flute).

The uniqueness of this thematic pattern is rather convincing that the author of this work is Rai Ramananda—the talented poet of the sixteenth century, and none else. So far we have three MSS (one was in the possession of Prof. Sen) all containing *Dandatmak Leela* although the composition of the MSS in my possession differs greatly from the text already published by Prof. Sen. But the texts of both the MSS (B-118 and 141) so far as the *Dandatmak leela* is concerned, are the same.

The OSM collected the first MS in November, 1966 and the second one in February, 1968. In the Catalogue of the OSM their titles were mentioned as *Brajabuli geeta* and *Krishna leela.* Apart from *Dandatmak Leela,* the second MS contains two more long narratives, namely, *Radha janma* and *Goura janma.* A third narrative *Lalita Kunje Sukla Dvitiya Milan* appears in both the MSS. While editing, I have used *Krishna Leela* (B-141) as the main text using different versions from the *Brajabuli geeta* (B-118).

iv) The MS procured and published by Prof. Sen contains a different text under the same title and has quotations from Govinda *Leelamrita* by Krishnadas Kaviraj—a composition of later years. Although such quotations could be dismissed as interpolations, the text contains elaborations of these *slokas*, which compel us to accept the entire work as produced by Rai Ramananda. Prof. Sen has discussed this topic in his book with reference to some other established works and has proved that the very idea of the authorship of Krishnadas Kaviraj is itself not above-board.

The *Dandatmak Leela* contained in MSS collected from the OSM does not contain any *sloka* from *Govinda Leelamrita* and therefore be declared as free from a controversy on this count.

We had been on the defence so far. Now we can find out some very strong plus points from the text and ascribe its incontrovertible authorship to Rai Ramananda. Before putting

forward acceptable arguments in favour of *Dandatmak Leela,* let us confess that the three other narrative poems namely, *Radha Janma, Gaura Janma* and *Lalita kunje sukla dvitiya milan* seems to be poor in content and technique. Although these works also contain the name of Rai Ramananda in their colophons, it is really difficult to accept these as the works of a gifted poet. Nevertheless, these narratives have not been dropped as we believe that our verdict can never be the final word. As the old wise saying goes, *Kaloyam nirabadhi bipula chaprithvi* the world is of immense dimension and the time unbounded. Let critics of future take their decision about these.

Dandatmak Leela is a lyrical drama made up of thirtytwo verses, all closely knit into a story. The principal characters are Krishna, Radha and Jasoda. A group of friends, male and female, are also there. Out of thirtytwo verses contained in this composition only ten have the mention of 'Ramananda' in their colophon whereas in twentytwo others we find the full name of poet 'Rai Ramananda'. There are eighty verses in all the compositions taken together of which two bear the title 'Das' tagged to the name of Ramananda. Sukumar Sen has critically examined the verses found so far with the title 'Das' and said that this poet has to be identified as Rai Ramananda and none else [7] So the colophons undoubtedly establish the authorship of all these verses as to be of Rai Ramananda.

The story centres round Krishna and Radha but there is no mention of Sri Chaitanya even obliquely. It was possible only during the pre-Chaitanya days. Although the manuscript (B-141) contains a separate narrative named *Gaura janma,* the *Dandatmak Leela,* says Gouranga is a strong case in point. We can safely say that it was written before the author came in close contact with Sri Chaitanya at Puri and is never a composition of lesser poet of later Years attributing it to Rai Ramananda. Rai Ramananda was a Vaisnava scholar par excellence and a staunch believer in *prema-bhakti* cult even before he met Sri Chaitanya.

It is not at all surprising, therefore, that Rai Ramananda composed a lyrical drama on the love-dalliance of Krishna and Radha even before he picked up acquaintance with Sri Chaitanya. We would do well to remember the contents of *Jagannathballava Natakam* in this context and appreciate why there has been no mention of Sri Chaitanya in this work. Surya Puja by Radha, described in the *Dandatmak Leela* has been drawn from the old mythology and adds additional credence to our conviction.

This Kavya is strewn with brilliant passages. Here are some examples—

godohon sari tabe chalila mandire,
prabesh haila tabe snanbedipare.
ratner bedirpare base Shyamchand,
Shyamange dugdhabindu dise mohaphanda.
(4th verse)

(After milking the cow, Shyam went back home and took his seat on the bathing alter bedecked with jwelery. Drops of milk on the body of Shyam appeared enticing).

se dhuni sunala tabe sundari Radhika,
Bisakhake bale chala jabo attalika.
attalika pare Rai nirakhe nayane,
kumud pailo jena chander darshane. (10th verse)

(On hearing the flute Radha entreated Bisakha to take her to the roof of the house. From there she saw Krishna and was highly elated, very much like a lily drawing pleasure from the sight of moon).

tarala murali jabe Karne sambhalita,
Kabala laiya gavi rahala sthakita.
na chale rabir rath na chale paban,
na bahe Jamuna nadi palvale bandhan. (28th verse)

(As soon as the cows heard the flute they stopped ruminating. The chariot of the sun and even the movement of air cam to

a stand still. It seemed as if the river Jamuna was confined to a small pool).

In the Bengali compositions of the Orissan poets we find occasional use of Oriya words. It is heartening to note that the spontaneity of their creation has never been marred owing to their weak Bengali vocabulary. They readily had recourse to substitutes in Oriya and this never stood in our way of appreciating their writings. Instances of Bengali words changed to Oriya ones, by the scribes, are however, not few. A bilingual can understand that this change can be effected by just changing a few vowel sounds. In the sentence *ek gosthi haye jabo, 'Haye jabo'* (Bengali) can easily be changed to *'Hoi jiba'* to make it a perfect Oriya expression without disturbing the meaning or metrical measure at all. Scores of such examples have been discussed in my edited texts.

Rai Ramananda and a host of other Orissan poets have had to fall back upon the vocabulary of their own mother tongue whenever they felt the pressing need but we are yet to come across instances in their Bengali compositions where such mingling of words have poseddifficulties in total comprehension or appreciation by Bengali readers. There have been a few poets who were really weak in their acquisition of Bengali language, like Raghunath Das, the author of *Bhuban Mangal,* and so they were under compuision to use more Oriya words in their Bengali composition. On the other side, there were many who used Bengali with competence. Nevertheless, a serious reader can find absolutely no hurdle before him, so far as the language is concerned, in his comprehending a text written in Bengali with just a few Oriya words here and there which can easily be contextualized.

The linear development of *Dandatmak Leela,* stylistically and thematically, demands a very careful study of this lyrical drama. The alchemizing talent of the poet is easily discernible. The medieval age is principally known as the age of Krishna cult. The colourful and verdant Vaisnav literature,

both in Oriya and Bengali, grew enormously with the episodes of Radha and Krishna as their pivotal source of attraction. There was a saying in Bengali, *Kanu chhara geet noi*—there can be no musical composition without Kanu or Krishna as its hero. This trend continued from the twelfth to early nineteenth century, having its glorious climax during the 15th to 17th. This was precisely the period when the impact of Sri Chaitanya was intensely perceived.

Indian Culture is basically of an integrating nature of different sub-cultures. Geographical locations, language or even different religious faiths had never stood in the way of this integration, Yet, this integration did not destroy different distinctive features of the sub-cultures in its process. This typical cultural integration has been amply demonstrated by the Orissan poets who composed Bengali Kavyas of a high literary order. We consider Rai Ramananda to be their fore-runner.

References :

1. Das, Haridas, Ed. *Gaudiya Vaisnav Abhidhan*, 2nd. Edn. 2nd-4th Vol., p. 1568.
2. Sen, Sukumar, *Bangla Sahityer Itihas*. Part I, 2nd Half, p. 376.
3. De, S.K , *Vaisnava Faith and Movements*, p. 70, f.n. 2.
4. Thakur, Radhamohan, Ed. *Padamrita Samudra*, 2nd Edn. p. 192-94.
5. Das, Vaisnav Charan. Ed. *Padakalpataru*, Vol. V, Preface, p. 113.
6. *Manasa Mangal* by Dwarika Das and *Bhuban Mangal* by Raghunath Das published by the Calcutta University; Prakas Chaitanyaratna by Sanatan published by Marang Buru Press.
7. Sen, Sukumar, *A History of Brajabuli Literature*, p. 40.

Yoni Discovered at Maraguda Valley, Orissa

—Jitamitra Prasad Singh Deo

Maraguda Valley forms the northen part of Sunabeda plateau; situated at the Nawapara Sub-division of Kalahandi District, which is full of archaeological remains.

In 1973, the Author and Dr. N.K.Sahu had picked few hand axes at this Valley, which belong to Stone Age and are now preserved at Sambalpur University Museum.[1] The Jonk river starts from the Sunabeda Plateau and after falling into Beniadhas fall (80 ft.) and Kharaldhas fall (150 ft.) enters Maraguda Valley and flows out to meet Mahanadi near Sabarinarayan Site. P.K. Deo[2] while giving the description of Maraguda Complex states that near the village Tikrapara, the Stream GIRIBARA, a tributary of Jonk flows. It is noticed that an attempt has been made to construct an anicut to divert the water of this Stream, to the fields. The Mortar used to bind these Stones is reported to contain *Dhup* (Rasin), *Lac* (Shellac) and *Gur* (Molasses). Anyway a Chemical analysis of this plaster can only prove this.

Intense study shows that, this locally named *Lacpol* (literarily meaning Lac bridge) can be a Gum Structure of Stone Age People. John Smith's report[3] about manufacture of Gums to mount the Stone or glass points by the Indians of Virginia is very interesting. He points out that "with the Sinews of deer and the tops of deer's horns boiled to a jelly they make a glew which will not dissolve in water."[4] Chemical analysis can only solve further problems.

These traces definitely show the Maraguda Valley to be a Pre-historic Site at first.

In the January month of 1982, the Staff of the Irrigation Department of Govt. of Orissa discovered a YONI, chiseled on a piece of stone measuring Cir. (Circumference) 23 Cm. which is now kept in the Private possession of the author. This finding has similarity with Objects discovered at Mohenjodaro, which have their upper and lower surfaces undulating, while in some others the lower surface is flat but the upper one takes a quatre-foil form. Sir John Marshall regards these as representations of the YONI, the female Organ of generation symbolizing motherhood and fecundity. Unfortunately, the depth measurement of this finding of a YONI is not recorded by the Irrigation Staff, when they discovered it, while trial excavation of the Spillway of the proposed Jonk Dam was going on.

Regarding the conception of Linga and YONI, Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar[5] states that the worship of the Linga of the great God Shiva originated from the conception of the God as the father or procreator. But in the matter of the procreation of beings the YONI pudendum muliebre) of the Mother Goddess should naturally be regarded as much important as the Linga of the father God. Both the Father God and the Mother Goddess were worshipped by the Pre-Aryan Peoples of India. The objects discovered at Mohenjodaro show that Shiva and Sakti were worshipped not only in the human form but also in the symbolic form of the Linga and the YONI; the former representing procreation and virility and the latter motherhood and fertility (Marshall, Mohenjodaro and Indus Civilization, Vol. I, London, 1931, pp. 52 ff.).

Worship of YONI of the Divine Mother is referred as certain Tirthas, containing YONI tanks in the Mahabharata;[6] but the worship of YONI is prescribed only in the late-medieval Tantra works like *Yonitantra, Brhaddharma* and others, which were

also not favoured Universally by all Classes of the Society. The history of the Socio-religious life in ancient India suggests that these conceptions, like many others, are due to non-Aryan influence on the Culture of the Indo-Aryans.[7]

The discovery of a YONI, which has similarity with Mohenjodaro finding at Maraguda Valley definitely proves contact of the non-Aryan people of this Maraguda Valley with non-Aryan People of Mohenjodaro and proves the influence of Socio-Religious Culture among them.

This YONI pantheism definitely, takes back the history of the Human antiquities of Orissa, to the Mohenjodaro or Indus



Valley Civilisation period and is the oldest archaeological antiquity of Orissa. This proves Maraguda Valley to have been a CHALCOLITHIC SITE.

The Chalcolithic age seems to have been shortlived at Maraguda Valley, because Chalcolithic period was when both Copper and Stone were in use. It succeeded the Neolithic, retaining all the latter's features, but was marked off by the appearance of Copper.[8] In the peninsular, it would seem that the Copper age was very brief; probably, in many parts, the people passed directly from the use of Stone to that of iron.[9]

References :

1. Singh Deo, J.P. "Archaeological Remains of Sunabeda Plateau". *The Orissa Historical Research Journal,* Vol.XVI, No. 4 to Vol. XXII, No. 1, pp. 121-122.
2. Deo, P.K. "Forgotten Forts in Kalahandi District. JUMLA-GARHMARAGUDA Complex (Part-II)," *The Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. XVI, No. 3, p. 6.
3. Sahu, Dr. N.K. *Utkal University History of Orissa, Vol. I,* Bhubaneswar, 1964, p. 33.
4. Hewitt, J. "Note on a Fire-Flint of Strandlooper Origin", *Transactions of Royal Society of South Africa,* X,pt.I, 1921, p. 52.
5. Sircar, Dr. D.C. "The Shakta Pithas, "*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters,* Vol. XIV, No.1, 1948, p. 7.
6. Ibid. p. 103.
7. Ibid. p. 8.
8. Lal, B.B. *Indian Archaeology Since Independence*, Delhi, 1964, p. 76.
9. Kosambi: Prof. D.D. *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History,* Bombay, 1975, p. 19.

Changing Role of Trade Unions for Better Future

—**Raj Kumar Verma**

Trade Union movement in our country started as an outburst of the agonies of a colonial exploitation of labour in industries in Bombay and Calcutta and soon found a leader like Shri N.M. Lokhande, as early as 1884, who thought of forming Bombay Mill Hands Association. He presented memorandum, opened up channels of persuasive dialogue with the Bombay Mill Owners, Association and the Government. This is probably the first milestone in the Indian trade union industry where the co-operation gave way to a meaningless confrontation between labour and employer.

Subsequently, the various political parties in the country who were fighting for the freedom of the nation got moved by the plight of the labour and they started consolidating labour under their respective banners and various trade unions were formed. Basically, the trade unions were formed to look after the economic interest of the employees. With the passage of time, the Unions however, lost their direction and on many occasions they indulged in activities against workers interests swayed by the politicians for their own personal ends. If we look at the various strifes and strikes in this country, it will be seen that such a strife and strike has brought disaster not only to the employer but to the employees also. Is it not, therefore, time to re-think the role of the trade unions ?

Our country is passing through first wave of new technology. The onslaught of the modern technology have rocked the foundations on which we had painstakingly built our values,

certainties, habits and behaviour, It is encouraging to note however, that some realisations have come for bringing about a change in attitude for a better industrial climate.

The trade unions have come to realise that the alternative to co-operation is chaos. It is from this point of view that the workers' education scheme which was once started to make the workers basically aware of their rights, have now started to bring awareness among the workers about their obligations also. A new culture of labour-management relation was initiated by Shri Ramanujam, President. I. N. T. U. C. in 1983 on the foundation day of Central Board for Workers' Education. He called upon the workers, both rural and urban, to re-dedicate themselves to uphold the following values :

1. To move from conflict of interest to community of interest.
2. Move from confrontation to co-operation.
3. Change from sectional thinking to integrated thinking.
4. To work from prosperity at the cost of others to prosperity along with others.
5. Move from partition approach to partnership working.
6. To become equal partner rather than a wage serf.
7. To work for excellence in work and better quality in life.
8. Lastly, the nation first and all else next approach.

It is unfortunate that in our country most of the people think only of themselves and their interests and they ignore the interest of the community, as a result, many a time their interests also suffer. The appreciation of the fact that people can thrive only if the economy thrives is lacking, whereas the basic foundation of the economic growth of Japan and Singapore is based on public awareness of this fact in the society.

The employer-employee relationship is to be shaped in a family bond. The employers and employees must function

mutually as trustees of each other and jointly as trustees of the community. The labour must identify itself with the industry. The co-operation so achieved is not to be utilised by each partner, merely to improve to their own conditions. The effect of such co-operation should be reflected in better services to the community with quality goods and services at reasonable cost through higher productivity.

To quote Shri Ramanujam once again, the co-operation between the labour and management has to be so regulated so as to remain constant, even in business, so that it should result in a long term partnership. The two should be like the metergauge railway track. The distance between the two must at all times be exactly a meter. If they try to come closer or go far away the result will be only economic derailment. Hence, the co-operation must have a sense of realistic assessment of each other's mutual interest and responsibility, and ultimately towards the community at large. This approach alone shall show a way to the future where labour and management shall be able to live together in peace and prosperity.

The Challenges :

The challenges facing modern economies all over the world are forcing the trade union movement to go beyond merely defending workers' claims, in the current economic background, to assume its true role as a "co-manager of society" participating as an informed and responsible partner in making the necessary changes.

The dominant feature of all highly industrialised countries is technological, industrial and commercial competition. The results achieved are surprisingly different from one country to another. It was only during the last decade or so that trade unions have recognised the need to take into account economic and social problems and to adopt a responsible position towards them.

The guiding principle is the fact that in modern society it is no longer possible to initiate and master social change without first understanding the social and economic background. This is why in quite a few developed countries the trade unions have diversified their activities towards social contribution to their members and society.

In Singapore the role of a trade union has undergone a change. Apart from the fact that they look after the economic interest of their employees they play an important role in the total economic and social development of the country. Singapore which is a tiny city country with the population of 2.5 million has a per capital GNP of 14.435 Singapore dollars, which is equivalent to 6,810 US $. Singapore is only 9 times bigger than Jamshedpur town with an area of only 617 sq. kms. Singapore is neither endowed with natural resources of its own nor does it have a large domestic market. Therefore, it has to depend on the trade with the world for its own existence. It is a measure of hard work put in by them that Singapore today is one of the only four developed Asian countries with Japan, Taiwan and South Korea. It has a highly developed marine and ocean industry, port, housing, electronics, computer, tourism and engineering industry. It is the busiest port of the world acting as crucial junction between the Indian and Pacific Oceans. It has the world's third biggest oil refinery after Rotterdam and Houston and is served by 40 world airlines with 70 aircrafts an hour at peak time.

In Singapore there is only one central federation of trade unions known as National Trade Union Congress (NTUC) and there is only one central employers' federation which is known as Singapore National Employers' Federation (SNEF). Both employers and employees are deeply committed to the economic development of the country and looking after just interest of employees and on such issues they never confront each othet. Their basic philosophy of concern for enterprise and

employees can be summed up in three points. Firstly, they believe in benefiting the local economy of the country and its people by passing on the results of its efficiency and continue to invest and co-operate in new and better technology and production processes. Secondly, it believes in building high standard of integrity amongst its employees, customers, suppliers and business associates while itself being committed to supply high quality products. Thirdly, it realises the importance of human resources and believes in developing the individual potential of their employees to the fullest, so that they can easily adapt to changes and have the ability to take advantage of the new developing technology, be it inside the factory or office environment.

The development plans of enterprises lay emphasis on inplant training to update employees with new skills required to manage the operation of newly inducted change. The Company also organises basic literacy courses to improve proficiency level of employees and also supports and encourages employees who undertake external industrial training courses.

The economy of Singapore was poor and colonised one, prior to 1961 and industrial strikes and confrontations were in gallore and union was only interested in bread and butter issue. But the sudden and fast change in technology in late 60's and early 70's led to unpredictability over inability of employees to control the work setting. The NTUC realises that the path of confrontation with the employers and work stoppages will not lead them to prosperity, rather it will weaken the economy of the country and adversely affect the employees also. They, therefore, adopted the path of co-operation and since then they have never looked back. This approach of the Union has generated more employment. The prime consideration of the Union today, in Singapore, is to help the economy to grow and for achieving this in the year 1985 when there was an economic depression, and 11,735 unionised workers of NTUC were retrenched, the NTUC went for 12% wage

cut and also agreed to freeze in their wages. They also agreed to forgo the recommendation of increase in the wages which was 3 to 7%, because of the recession in the economy. This effected a total of 56 Unions in both public and private sectors. In 1986 also, most of the Unions finalised a Wage Standstill Recommendation due to the economy still being in recession. This wage standstill recommendations permitted flexibility. Loss making companies were allowed to freeze wages or even reduced wages. Companies making low profit were allowed to have same level of wages but the actual purchasing power of the already reduced take home pay was not allowed to be further eroded as the inflation rate was kept low at less than 1% in 1985 and 1986.

NTUC activities lay greater emphasis on increasing production and productivity, evolve social security scheme for its employees, generate employment through co-operative activities and to provide necessities of daily life to its members and people at reduced price.

The concept of NTUC, behind the promotion of aim of productivity. among the workmen, includes the basic understanding that workers' long term welfare is directly linked to the continued viability of the companies they work for. In this context NTUC gave productivity theme for 1985 "Come on Singapore—let's all be the best we can be". The NTUC, its affiliate unions and business venture organises a host of productivity training programme to cover wide range of subject. These courses are primarily designed to give grassroot unionists an understanding of the concept of productivity and its contributing elements which lie in the areas of team building, work motivation, decision making and problem solving, workers' participation, linkage of wages with productivity and its effect on competition, improvement in quality and work excellence. NTUC, in this context, also organises training courses, seminars and workshops for its union official and members to develop a team of lecturers. The main area of this training is to improve

leadership effectiveness, develop persuasive skills to assist them in membership drive, develop ability to read financial statements, make them known to various labour legislations of Singapore, provide them knowledge and skills of collective bargaining and know the contemporary political, economic and labour issues of the country. It organises basic, intermediate and advanced levels of training courses in these areas.

The NTUC in agreement with employers have developed a scheme of Company welfarism through Employers contribution (COWEC) for the employees benefit. It aims at developing closer identification between workers and the Company by employers conscious effort to meet the social needs of their workmen The idea is to deliberately cultivate in the mind of the workmen that their welfare and benefits are mutual with Company's better future. It proceeds on a hypothesis that a management which provides benefits as a result of following people-centered management policy would be able to build up in the workmen, Company loyalty and identification. The COWEC scheme involves allowing employers to retain 10% of the employers' monthly share of the 25% CPF contribution for their employees. This retained sum is placed into a specially established trust fund and invested. The earnings from these investment are then used to provide more and better welfare, over and above those already existing for the employees. The balance 15% of the employers' contribution together with 25% of the employees' contributory P. F. contributions are paid to CPF Board as usual. To ensure smooth operation of COWEC Scheme, a panel of trustees which is set up comprises of senior management and union representatives of workmen. The arrangement of Trustee Board brings about participation in joint administration of the scheme.

Some of the important co-operative activities undertaken by NTUC are as follows :

NTUC Comfort :

It provides excellent land transport service. In Singapore visitors will find the best Taxies with emblem 'come for'. It has a vehicle fleet of 6,415 taxies, 171 mini bus and 36 city shuttle service bus making it one of the biggest taxi service in the world. The NTUC COMFORT also organises training programme to upgrade standard of service by the members through COSEC (Core Skills for Effectiveness and Change) programmes. These NTUC COMFORT members are provided Scholarship and Bursary awards for their children, subsidies to the Group life and Hospitalisation Benefit Insurance as well as expenditure on Operators' childern.

NTUC Dentcare :

It provides dental care service for the member workers and their family members. Even though costs of material, equipment (replacement/repair) have gone up, NTUC DENTCARE has managed to maintain satisfactory operational level without raising dental charges.

NTUC Fairprice :

This agency strives to stabilise cost of living in Singapore and thereby help its members in getting commodities at very reasonable prices through its various fairprice shops all over Singapore. They effect reduction in cost by reducing packing cost, advertising cost, staff cost and overtime. It provides perishable goods in fresh condition through its preservation activities.

COMFORT has introduced a scheme to help its members having NTUC card to enjoy rebates. NTUC FAIRPRICE also provides used school text books for community service.

NTUC Income :

It aims to popularise Insurance in the population through attractive premiums. About 661 organisations assist NTUC INCOME in implementing premium deductions through employees' salary. It has recently started scheme for death or permanent disability due to accident outside duty hours for benefit for its members who at a premium of 1/- p. a. are

insured for Singapore $ 10,000. Policy holders and their family are given loan for vacation and economical medical check up is also provided.

NTUC BEST, NTUC TOPS and NTUC VITB Programmes for skill Development :

The NTUC also organises general education programme to enhance the earning capacity of workers and improving their standards of living. These are done through three agencies. They are Basic Education for Skills Training (BEST), Tools for Problem Solving (TOPS) and Vocational and Industrial Training Board (VITB).

These programmes emphasise on identifying the skill needs of the workers for their development, study the ongoing changes in technology and keeping the training abreast of it and evaluating and monitoring these programmes to see if they are meeting the requirements that they were designed for.

Presently, greater emphasis is given in these training programmes on computer appreciation which is an upcoming technology and its extensive use in productivity promotion.

Workers, who stand retrenched, stand a chance to develop some other skills through this course to find alternative employment requiring the newly acquired skill.

Workers are also given incentive to join these programmes by gifting them dictionaries or calculators to suit their need of acquired skill.

However, the NTUC is not satisfied with their present level of excellence of performance and work. It is a measure of their constant striving for excellence in performance with anticipation of the fast changing needs of the industrial technology that they are still not satisfied with what they have attained. In their Annual Conference in 1985 they took a vow to work still better and questioned themselves that where do they go in the next 25 years.

Factors Related to Educational Backwardness Among Socially Disadvantaged Children A Comparative Study

—Dr. Tapati Dutta

Educating the masses is the single panacea to fight against all social evils like ignorance, superstition, low per capita income, malnutrition, infectious, diseases, crowded dwelling, over population and lack of civic responsibility, This provided the impetus for implementing the scheme of universalisation of education among six to fourteen-year old children. The Government, planners and educationists initiated all possible steps to achieve this goal. New institutions were started, trained and qualified teachers were appointed and Government provided the stipend and other stationery materials to the children who were educationally backward.

In spite of all the efforts on the part of Government wastage and stagnation still prevail. The reasons are obvious. New institutions are opened, trained teachers are appointed but there is a lack of basic understending which is essential for educating the masses having diverse needs. The persons responsible for planning and the teachers appointed have to be dedicated, involved and concerned about the needs and difficulties of the majority of the children who are maladjusted in the school setting, and are deficient in academic skills and interests. These children either fail or show poor achievement because of their backgrounds, and are branded as *Deprived* or *Disadvantaged*.

The question arises who are *Deprived* or *Disadvantaged* ? According to Sharma (1980) there are two categories of advantaged children :

(a) Children who come from a socio-economic and culturally disadvantaged section, more commonly recognised as Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Years of neglect, discrimination and exploitation have made them disadvantaged.

(b) The second category of disadvantaged children are the first generation learners. Their parents, grand parents and forefathers had not gone to school. Though the parents of the first generation learners value education as important, they may not have the necessary knowledge as to how to foster the skills, attitudes and practices conducive to academic success. The first generation learners become victims of a vicious circle of performing poorly, being chastized by teachers and receiving negative reinforcement at home. Majority of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes children are also first generation learners.

India is a developing country and 80% of its population are from the rural areas. Hence majority of the children coming to the schools are from poverty stricken families of villages, born and brought up in deprived social conditions for generations. These children no doubt belong to the disadvantaged group. There are a host of studies conducted in India which have revealed that the *Socially Disadvantaged* children are poor in academic achievement (Das, Jachuck and Panda, 1970; Panda and Das, 1970; Dutta, 1984). The education of such a mass needs proper planning and understanding of the problems of academic achievement.

The academic achievement is affected by a set of social as well as cognitive factors which are discussed in the following two phases.

PHASE 1 **Social Factors Affecting Academic Achievement :**

Nearly all researchers have agreed that intellectual Development occurs as part of an ongoing social process which affects the personality and academic achievement of children.

Christiansen *et. al,* (1974) in his *Social Structural Model,* elucidated that *Low Unstable Income* and *Low Educational Level* give rise to a common group of adverse social conditions which lead to low intelectual functioning. *Low Unstable Income* and *Low Educational Level* go hand in hand and are responsible for the following adverse social conditions which affect the intellectual functioning

a) Poor sanitation
b) High disease level
c) Inadequate nutrition
d) Low physical growth
e) Crowded dwelling
f) Many children/closely spaced children/maternal emotional problems.
g) Low parental attention and high restrictivity to the children.
h) Low intellectual functioning which is reflected in poor academic achievement at the later stage.

Thus, nearly all researchers have agreed that adverse social conditions including poverty, ignorance, poor hygiene, over crowding, parasitic and communicable diseases, superstition and many others collectively and individually limit the intelectual functioning and academic achievement of these children. The same set of adverse social conditions are also associated with social and cultural deprivations and hence disadvantaged children generally show low intellectual functioning and poor academic achievement.

PHASE II **Cognitive Factors Affecting Academic Achievement :**

I) INTELLIGENCE :

Intelligence is one of the crucial factors that affects the academic achievement of school children. Therefore, *Intelligence*

Tests are known as *Scholastic Achievement Tests.* Before probing into the discussion, how intelligence affects academic achievement, one should understand what *intelligence* is. Hebb (1948) distinguished between *Intelligence A*-genetic potentiality and *Intelligence-B* present mental efficiency. The former represents the capacity of central nervous system for forming, retaining and recording schemata (ideas), whereas the latter represents the cognitive abilities which have been built up during infancy and childhood through experiences. Those abilities do not develop in the absence of suitable *Environmental stimulation*. Winick, *et. al.*, (1970) conducted a study in Jamaica in which the parents were asked seven questions as indicators of *Intellectual stimulation*.

1) Does he have any toys or has anyone else given him ?
2) Does he have any book or magazine ?
3) Does he listen to the radio ?
4) Does he watch T. V. ?
5) Have you or anyone else taken the child on trips to other places besides the visits to relatives and friends you have told me about ?
6) Does anyone tell him stories ?
7) Does anyone read to him ?

Thus shows that the home conditions have important bearing on the development of intelligence. Besides, Protein Calorie Malnutrition (PCM) is another important factor that affects intellectual development. Winick and Noble (1966) emphasized that PCM retards the growth (cell size) and malnutrition (cell multiplication) of brain. Smaller brain with fewer cells limits the functional capacity of the brain and results in low intelligence and poor cognitive functioning which in turn affects the school achievement. Birch, *et. al,* (1970) and Rutter, *et. al,* (1970) conducted two studies in Aberdeen and Isle of Weight respectively. They analysed the association between specific social and biological factors and

rates of mental handicaps and found that families with high risk were over-crowded, ignorant, large in size, poor and the mothers were short in stature. Patel *et. al, (*1974) initiated a study on tribal population. the result highlighted that the tribal children showed poor intersensory integration, lack of reasoning abilities, impaired memory and abstract thinking and delayed abilities in the areas of reading and writing. Thus the disadvantaged children are poor with regard to their academic achievement because of their retarded intelligence,

Dutta (1984) undertook a comparative study on a group of disadvantaged children (Harijans) and a group of advantaged children (Brahmans) and had identified some cognitive factors like Cross Modal Coding (CMC), Short Term Memory (STM) and Reading speed which are highly essential for academic success.

2. CROSS MODAL CODING (CMC)

Auditory and visual integration is very essential for good academic achievement. The auditory-visual integration was tested with the help of the task in which the children listened to patterns of sound following which they were asked to recognize the pattern visually. Birch and Belmont (1964) found that this test could discriminate between good and poor reading abilities among children. Dutta (1984) also found that Harijan children were significantly poor in auditory visual coordination as compared to their Brahman counterparts. Obviously the Harijan children were also significantly poor with regard to their academic achievement.

3. SHORT TERM MEMORY (STM) :

Memory plays a vital role in the teaching learning process. Learning cannot take place unless it is retained. The success in the class room is dependent upon how much a child is capable of remembering. Hence one should not underestimate the role of memory in academic achievement. Memory can be

categorized as Long Term Memory (LTM), i, e the facts which are remembered even after a long gap and Short Term Memory (STM), *i, e.* recall or test of retention just after the learning is over. However, the theories of intelligence have already indicated that STM constitute an important aspect of intelligence and cognitive competence. Dutta (1984) in her study with disadvantaged children included both Visual STM and Auditory STM. It was found that advantaged (Brahman) children were significantly superior to the disadvantaged (Harijan) children with regard to visual as well as auditory STM (which includes both free and serial recall). Meacham (1975) also conducted a cross-cultural memory research and argued that environment and culture contribute to differential development of varied innemonic skills like memory. Das, Jachuck and Panda (1970) studied the cognitive functioning of high and low caste school children. They included an intelligence test, a test of language development, STM test and CMC tests. Each of them measured a basic aspect of cognitive activity relevant to scholastic achievement. The result showed that in intelligence test low caste children obtained the lowest whereas the rich high caste children scored the highest, Similar results were obtained for STM, CMC, and language test. The low caste children were also poor in scholastic achievement.

4. LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE :

Linguistic competence is another vital factor that affects the academic achievement. It constitutes the most important aspect of cognitive competence because it is involved in all cognitive functioning like intelligence, thinking, perception, concept formation, memory etc. From the age of five and half almost all new learning involves language. According to a Russian research report, behaviour that is learned with use of language is acquired quickly, is highly stable and generalised widely, whereas reactions learned without verbal participation are relatively unstable, depend on constant reinforcement and are easily forgotten. Besides, all useful valid tests of intelligence

are highly correlated with language. Rath (1976) suggested that a disadvantaged child comes to Grade I and reads the first reader written in the standard language, he starts with zero linguistic information and conceptualization, whereas a child belonging to advantaged class has quite a few familiar concepts and linguistic associations in common. Thus, there is no doubt that deprived social conditions affect language development which is highly correlated with academic achievement.

Another important determiner of linguistic competency is the reading speed. Dutta (1984) used stroop test to measure speed of learning and found that disadvantaged children took significantly more time in reading colour words as compared to advantaged children. Das *et. al.* (1970) also found greater interference for rich Brahman children because greater interference is associated with higher level of linguistic competency. It has also been observed that bright children are fast readers.

The contribution of the factors like interest aptitude, motivation should not be ignored, though the empirical evidences are not encountered here. One has to admit that the disadvantaged children could not develop proper interest and motivation for academic subjects because of lack of reinforcement and support from illiterate parents. Those children also lack experience and exposure to the opportunities enjoyed by the advantaged children which help them to develop interest and some pre-requisite skills essential for school learning.

However, for effective education of the disadvantaged children and/or universalization of education the planners and educationists have to keep the following suggestions in their mind.

1) Changing the educational atmosphere in the schools by employing sincere and dedicated teachers.

2) Using methods and materials in the school based on the needs and experiences of the local children.

3) Developing awareness for education among the illiterate parents through proper guidance and counselling,

4) Providing incentives to the children for motivating them to read.

References :

1. Birch, H. G. & Belmont, L., Auditory-visual integration in normal and retarded readers, *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 1964, 34, 852-861.

2. Brich, H. G., Richardson, S. A., Baird, D., Horobin, G. & Illsley, R., *Mental Subnormality in the community A Clinical and Epidemiologic Study*, Williams and Wilkins, Baltimore, 1970.

3. Christiansen, N., Vuori, L., Mora, J.O. & Wagner, M.; Social Environment as it Relates to Malnutrition and Mental Development, Early Malnutrition and Mental Development, *The symposia of the Swedish Nutrition Foundation*, XII, Almgvist and Wiksell Uppsala, 1974.

4. Das, J.P, Jachuck, K., & Panda, T. P., Cultural Deprivation and Cognitive Growth, In H.C.Herywood (Ed). *Social Cultural Aspects of Mental Retardation*, New York Appleton, 1970.

5. Dutta, T., Effects of Malnourishment on Self-concept, Personal-Social Adjustment and Cognitive Competence Among Low Income Group School Children, Indian Educational Review, April, 1984.

6. Hebb, D. O., The Organisation of Behaviour, New York : Wiley, 194

7. Meacham, J. A., Patterns of Memory Abilities in two Cultures, *Developmental Psychology*, 1975, *II*, 50-53.

8. Patel, B.D., Parekh, S.R., Krishnaswamy, P.R., Desai, A. G., Amdeka.r, Y. K., Dave, P., Dengerwalla, A., & Idnani, A., Influence of Malnutrition of Environmental Deprivation on the Development of the child,*Early Malnutrition and Mental Development*, Symposia of the Swedish Nutrition Foundation XII, Almqvist and Wiksell, Uppsala, 1974.

9. Panda, K. C., & Das, J.P., Acquisition and Reversal in Four Sub-cultural Groups Generated by caste and class,*Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*, 1970, *2*, 267 to 273.

10. Rath, R., Problems of Equalization of Educational Opportunities for the Tribal children, Indian Eeducational Review, 1976, *II*, 2.

11. Rutter, M., Graham, P & Yule, W.; A *Neuropsychiatric study in Childhood, Spastics* : International Medical Publications in Association with William Heinemann Medical Books, London, 1970.

12. Sharma, A., Educational Research on the Disadvantaged Child, *Disadvantaged Child* : A Multi-Disciplinary Symposium, M. V. Singh (Ed). Delhi Association of clinical psychologists, 1980.

13. Winick, M , & Noble, A., Cellular Response in Rats during Malnutrition at various Ages, *Journal of Nutrition*, 1966,*89*, 300-306.

14. Winick, M., Rosso, P., & Waterlow, J., Cellular Growth of Cerebrum, Cerebellum and Brain stem, in Normal and Marasmic children, *Experimental Neurology*. 1970, *26*, 393-400.

Gita, Gandhi & Satyagraha

—Dr. Bhabagrahi Misra

Gandhi once said, "My work is my message." Mcluhan has a thesis that "medium is the message." In case of Gandhi, work was the medium, which not only conveyed the message, but this message and his life were one. The philosophical basis behind Gandhi's political action, i.e. *Satyagraha* clearly corresponded with certain fundamental concepts of Gita, which Gandhi once termed as his "eternal mother." Of course other authors and religious texts such as Tolstoy, Thoreau, *Sermon on the Mount*, and Buddhist and Jain texts had laid a profound influence on his life. But it seems to me, in *Gita* alone Gandhi found the synthesis, the crystallised concept of *Satyagraha*. Gandhi used to believe that the message of *Gita* evolves through time and the readers of *Gita* find the "truth" in various ways. The way Gandhi understood *Gita* needs special attention, but he categorically wanted to put the teachings of *Gita* into practice.

Whenever Gandhi failed in his attempt to understand a societal problem; he searched for the *Gita* and in each encounter the message emerged clearer than ever in confirming his faith in *Satyagraha*.

Dhirendra Datta, a disciple of Gandhi, once asserted that "Love (*Ahimsa*) is the essence of morality" in his master's philosophy. The germinal idea of the insistence on this concept of love as *ahimsa* can be found in the sixteenth chapter of *Gita* where Krishna says that persons who are of divine nature act with "charity .....non-violence ...aversion to fault-finding, and compassion to living beings, gentleness, modesty,

forgiveness, fortitude .....freedom from malice and excessive pride." These ideas from *Gita* seem to have frequent echoes in Gandhi's work-experience and his teachings. Gandhi writes in *From Yervada Mandir,* that *ahimsa* is in fact, universal love.

The concept *Satyagraha* has attained complex meaning at the hands of its founding father Gandhi. Here *ahimsa* as love and truth seem to have been inseparably intertwined. Truth seems to be the end to which *ahimsa* is only the means. As he says : "Means to be means must always be within our reach, and so *ahimsa* is our supreme deity." In analysing this Gandhi seems to have been influenced by Buddhist doctrine, when he says that the enlightened man sees that the truth which he seeks is not external to him, but internal. Therefore, man's enemies are not the forces beyond himself, but the desires he cherishes. Without conquering these desires, one cannot find truth.

Gandhi, in trying to explain the word "satya", traces its derivative meaning from *Sat,* means, "being". This interpretation is echoed in Gita (Chapter seventeenth) where the word for "being" connotes, "reality", "Goodness" and praiseworthy action. So in Gandhian understanding, nothing exists other than Truth and *Truth is God*. In equating truth with God, Gandhi seems to have been profoundly influenced by the message of *Gita* in the thirteenth chapter. wherein essential truth is considered as *purusottam,* the supreme spirit which each man has to realise for himself. This perfection is the realisation of the *Truth,* which in the *Gita* (Twelfth chapter) says : "Be as one whose supreme aim is My service; even performing actions for My sake, thou shalt attain perfection." So the connecting link between *ahimsa* as the means and *Satya* as the end is maintained by Gandhi in carrying the concept *Satyagraha,* for practical action, i.e. *Karmayoga*.

In *From Yeravda Mandir*, Gandhi explicitly suggests that the realization of Truth can only be attained in following the path suggested in the Gita, Gandhi goes on to say that through "Single-minded devotion (*abhyasa)* and indifference to all other interests in life *(Vairagya)*, one can seek truth and find it. As he writes :

> "Where there is honest effort, it will be realized that what appears to be different are leaves of the same tree."

In devotion to truth one has to involve himself in *tapas* i, e., Self-Suffering. Without this self-suffering one cannot claim himself as a *satyagrahi*. The perceiver of truth knows the right action to be taken in a particular situation and this action should be endowed with love, i, e,. *ahimsa*. As Gandhi says, *ahimsa* is not...a negative state of harmlessness, but it is a positive state of love, of doing good even to the evildoer.' And in pursuing this path, it is necessary to cut oneself off from an evil-doer, to impress on the oppressor that "all men are brothers" and are essentially in bondage with each other through the "potential reality" within each of them. So the path of *ahimsa*, i. e., love "may entail continuous suffering and the cultivating of endless patience."

In *Gita* (Chapter six), it is said that one should always do work "with a view to the maintenance of the world." So Conceptually speaking the essence of *satyagraha* principle is inherent in *Gita*, i, e., *niskama karma* or action without any disire. This idea is elaborated in the fourth chapter of the *Gita*.

Gandhi in explaining the word *Satyagraha* disfavoured its use as a substitute for "passive resistance". He emphasised, instead on the literal meaning of the word as "clinging to truth." Before the Hunter Committee he had suggested that by *Satyagraha* he meant "love force" or ' soul force." So *Satyagraha* was defined by him, as "vindication of truth not by infliction of suffering on the opponent but on one's self." Anyone who

would claim himself as a *Satyagrahi,* should perform duties in the nature by *yajna* as described in the Gita, so that he can live a pure life to enable him to be a real *Satyagrahi.* Where *Satyagrahis* fail, it is the "insufficient mastery over self" fails since a real *Satyagrahi* is engaged in "desireless action". Gandhi's description of the ideal *Satyagrahi* is "calm, free from anger, and unruffled in mind even if he finds himself inconvenienced." This echoes the qualities by an excellent man as described in the Gita (Chapter six) as "equal minded among friends, companions and foes, among those who are neutral and impartial, among those who are hateful and related..."

Even the vows prescribed by Gandhi for *Satyagrahis* as Truth, Ahimsa, Brahmacharya, non-possession, Fearlessness, control of the palate, non-stealing, bread labour, equality of religions, anti-untouchability etc. echo *Gita,* when in chapter six Krishna says that a *yogin* is to be, "in solitude and alone, self-controlled, free from desires and longing for possessions."

Finally an ideal *Satyagrahi,* I presume, Gandhi would have agreed if he who according to Gita.'

> "Among thousands of men scarcely one strives for perfection, and of those who strive and succeed scarcely one knows me in truth."

In essence one who knows *this* truth knows what is *Satyagraha.*



INDEX